THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. II.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT MONARCHY TO THE *PRESENT REVOLUTION.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Res geſtæ regumque ducumque, & triſtia Bella. Hor.

VOL. II.

LONDON.

Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46, Fleet Street.

1790.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Chapter the Twenty-first.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE EIGHTH—ADMINISTRATION OF THE LADY OF BEAUJEU—REVOLT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—BRITTANY RE-ANNEXED TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE—INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM BY HENRY THE SEVENTH OF ENGLAND—ITALIAN EXPEDITION—BATTLE OF FORNOUA—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

WHEN Lewis the Eleventh expired, his ſon and ſucceſſor, Charles the Eighth, had almoſt completed his fourteenth year, A. D. 1483.

and might have aſpired to the reins of government without any material violation of the laws of France; but the deficiency of his education, the delicacy of his conſtitution, and the diſtance at which he had been kept from public affairs, rendered ſome more able pilot neceſſary to ſteer the veſſel of ſtate through the ſecret ſhoals which ſurrounded it.

Three competitors appeared as candidates for this important truſt. John duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who, with the reputation of unblemiſhed integrity, had attained the advanced age of ſixty years, and whoſe prudence and gravity ſtrongly recommended him to popular eſteem; Lewis duke of Orleans, preſumptive heir to the crown, but whoſe natural claim was weakened by his inexperienced youth, as he had ſcarce completed his twentieth year; and Anne, the eldeſt daughter of the late monarch, and to whom Lewis, in his laſt moments, had committed the charge of the government, with the doubtful title of governeſs.

The nomination of that princeſs was confirmed by the aſſembly of the ſtates-general at Tours; and although only entered into her twenty-ſecond year, Anne appears to have poſſeſſed all the qualities requiſite for the high office with which ſhe was inveſted. Equal to her father in genius,

but more uniform in her conduct, and more magnanimous in diſpoſition; her judgment was ſound, without any mixture of that perfidious duplicity which debaſed the underſtanding of Lewis; though vindictive, not cruel; though tenacious of her dignity, not violent or imperious. Led aſide by no inferior paſſions, ſhe felt her capacity for adminiſtration, and ſacrificed entirely to that object. Miſtreſs of an eloquence and addreſs the moſt refined, ſhe knew how to poſſeſs, and to retain the authority delegated to her. Her late father, actuated by that jealous and capricious policy which characteriſed his conduct, married her to Peter of Bourbon, ſire de Beaujeu, and younger brother of the duke of Bourbon. That nobleman was of a remote and collateral branch of the blood royal; of a ſlender fortune and a moderate capacity; but his deficiencies were his principal recommendations to the ſuſpicious Lewis, who wiſhed not to aggrandize the houſe of Bourbon; and his eaſy and unaſpiring temper had gained upon the dying monarch to conſtitute his ſon-in-law lieutenant general of the kingdom; while the laſt will of Lewis evinced his faculties ſtill unimpaired by diſeaſe, by bequeathing the reins of government to the ſuperior abilities of his daughter.

The firſt endeavour of the lady of Beaujeu

was to ingratiate herſelf with the people by an act of popular juſtice; the miniſters of the late king, who had availed themſelves of his jealous temper, to exerciſe their wanton cruelties on his ſubjects, were ſurrendered to public puniſhment. Amongſt theſe, the moſt odious were Olivier le Dain and Jean Doyac; the former a native of Flanders, from the inferior ſtation of a barber, had acquired the confidence and favour of Lewis; he had ſucceſsfully exerciſed his ingenuity in inventing new modes of torture, to gratify his unfeeling maſter; and having received, as the reward of his prompt inhumanity, the lands of Meulant, he aſſumed the title of count de Meulant. Neither his wealth, nor pretended dignity, could avert the ſtroke of juſtice: and he was hanged by a ſentence of the parliament, which involved his ſervant and aſſiſtant, Daniel. Jean Doyac was born in Auvergne, and of the loweſt extraction; he attained the government of that province by even exceeding the ſanguinary commands of Lewis; and the unfortunate people, ſubjected to his authority, were daily oppreſſed and deſpoiled by his violence and rapacity. His puniſhment was ſingular and rigorous; he was condemned, after being whipt in all the open places or ſquares of Paris, to have one of his ears cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron; thence he was

conducted

conducted to his native city of Mortferrand, again whipt, and his other ear cut off; and his eſtates and effects, with thoſe of Olivier le Dain, were confiſcated to the crown. Jacques Coitier, the phyſician of the late monarch, had availed himſelf of the terror of death, which ſo ſtrongly influenced his royal patient, to extort from him large ſums, and even to addreſs him in language equally inſolent and arrogant; he was called to anſwer for the exorbitant wealth he had acquired; and ſome idea of his riches may be entertained from the readineſs with which he acquieſced in the fine of fifty thouſand crowns.

Yet acts of ſeverity engaged not A. D. 1484. 1485. alone the attention of the lady of Beaujeu; and her addreſs was exerted to conciliate the friendſhip, and diſarm the reſentment of her unſucceſsful rivals. The duke of Bourbon was gratified, and appeaſed by the ſword of Conſtable, long the object of his ambition; but the duke of Orleans, whoſe pretenſions were more formidable, was more deeply impreſſed by his late diſappointment. The rage of baffled ambition was inflamed by a circumſtance trifling in itſelf, but important in its conſequences. A diſpute, relative to a game of tennis, was decided againſt him by Anne, who was a ſpectator of the amuſement. The duke, incenſed at a determi-

nation which, he conceived to be the reſult of perſonal enmity, vented aloud his ſpleen, by declaring, that "whoever had decided againſt him, "if a man, was a lyar; if a woman, a ſtrumpet;" the language was groſs, the affront unpardonable; Anne obtained from the council an order to arreſt the duke, who eſcaped to the caſtle of Beaujency on the Loire, where he was ſoon beſieged by the lady of Beaujeu, and compelled to ſurrender.

The duke of Orleans, ſtripped of authority, ſtill nouriſhed his latent reſentment, and ſought for ſupport in the neighbouring ſtates and natural enemies of his country; but England, ſcarce emerged from civil commotions, was unwilling to engage in foreign enterpriſes. The infant children of Edward the Fourth had been extinguiſhed by the bloody ambition of their uncle, Richard the Third; and the tyrant ſoon after, in Boſworth field, had yielded up his life and crown to the earl of Richmond, who aſcended the throne with the title of Henry the Seventh, and by his marriage united the rival houſes of Lancaſter and York; yet Henry, naturally cautious, and new to royalty, was deaf to the diſcontents of the duke of Orleans, who found a more willing confederate in Francis the ſecond, duke of Brittany.

That

That prince, conſcious of his own incapacity for government, had reſigned himſelf to the counſels of Peter Landais, a man of mean extraction, and deſtitute of principles, though not devoid of ability. The nobles of Brittany, provoked by the inſolence of the favourite, had riſen in arms, ſeized the wretched Landais, and executed on him a ſentence of death which had been pronounced in a tumultuous and illegal aſſembly. Dreading the reſentment of their prince, they had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the court of France: the deſire of the lady of Beaujeu to re-unite the province of Brittany to the crown, was repreſſed by the late intemperate ſally of the duke of Orleans; but the proſecution of her plan was again reſumed, and veiled under the pretence of providing for domeſtic ſecurity; a pretence afforded by the unexpected flight of her rival, who ſought ſhelter in the territories of Brittany. A. D. 1485. 1486.

Francis received the noble fugitive with every mark of reſpect; and A. D. 1487. Lewis, ſenſible of the aſcendancy which he rapidly acquired over the mind of his protector, flattered himſelf with the idea of obtaining a divorce, and of marrying Anne, the daughter and heireſs of the duke; but the nobles of Brittany regarded with jealouſy the favour of the duke of Orleans and his train; they renewed their ſe-

cret negociations with the lady of Beaujeu, and invited the French to an invaſion of their country. Yet ſtill deſirous of preſerving its independency, they regulated the number of ſuccours which France was to ſend, and ſtipulated, that no fortified place in Brittany ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of that power. The lady of Beaujeu readily ſubſcribed to conditions, which ſhe was determined to maintain no longer than was conſiſtent with her intereſt. Her vigilance detected the treaſonable correſpondence of Philip de Comines, the celebrated hiſtorian, with the duke of Orleans; and the crime of that miniſter was puniſhed by an impriſonment of three years; her vigour enabled France to invade Brittany with four armies, each of them ſuperior to the numbers that had been ſtipulated by the late treaty. Theſe rapidly poſſeſſed themſelves of Ploermel, Vannes, and Dinant, and united their ſtrength in the ſiege of Nantz; the forces of Francis had been entruſted to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, the ſon of the renowned general who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Charles the Seventh; but the Britons were diſguſted by the choice of their prince; jealous of their leaders, they retired in diſcontent, and left the French to purſue their conqueſts without interruption.

But

But the ſucceſs of France ſoon obliged the lady of Beaujeu to drop the maſk which ſhe had worn; and evinced to the barons of Brittany her intention to retain the conqueſts ſhe had acquired. Theſe, finding their country menaced with total ſubjection, began gradually to withdraw from the ſtandard of the French. Their return to their allegiance inſpired their countrymen with freſh confidence in their prince, and freſh ardour in the cauſe of their natural independence. The forces of the duke of Brittany were ſwelled by their tranſient enthuſiaſm to ſixty thouſand men; Nantz was relieved; and the French were ſoon after compelled to abandon, with diſgrace, the ſiege of that city.

But Anne, firm and undaunted, was not deterred by this check, from perſevering in her favourite project, of reducing Brittany to ſubjection. The ſtate of Europe was propitious to the execution of this deſign. The indigence of Maximilian precluded him from affording any effectual aſſiſtance to Francis. Ferdinand and Iſabella, who, by their marriage, had united Arragon and Caſtile, were occupied in the conqueſt of Granada from the Moors; and Anne was ſenſible, that at any time ſhe could ſecure the neutrality of thoſe princes by the reſtoration of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne. England alone was enabled by her power,

power, and prompted by her intereſt, to maintain the independency of the Britons. Even gratitude loudly ſummoned Henry to arm in defence of Francis. When earl of Richmond, and purſued by the bloody policy of Richard the Third, he had been protected from the deadly jealouſy of the tyrant, by the court of Brittany; and the aſſiſtance he had received, it was now in his power to repay: but Henry, we have already obſerved, was naturally cautious and dilatory; the protection he had received in Brittany, might be balanced by the ſubſequent ſupplies of men and money from the miniſters of France, which had contributed to place him on the throne of England; his frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, rendered him averſe to all warlike enterpriſes and diſtant expeditions. Though conſcious of the formidable acceſſion of ſtrength which France wonld acquire by the reduction of Brittany, he conſidered the undertaking as clogged by inſuperable obſtacles; he was confirmed in this opinion by the army which Francis had haſtily aſſembled, and by the ſubſequent relief of Nantz; and while he ought to have prepared for war, he confined himſelf to the arts of negociation, and the vain proffer of mediation.

A.D. 1488. Anne had no ſooner charmed to ſleep that power which ſhe moſt dread-

ed,

ed, than ſhe reſumed with vigour her plans of conqueſt; and the French army, commanded by la Tremouille, inveſted and ſucceſſively reduced Fougeres and St. Aubin de Cormier. The loſs of this laſt place determined the Britons to hazard a deciſive action. They had lately been reinforced by the lord d'Albert, who was allured to the ſtandard of Francis, by the hopes of marrying his daughter, and who led to his aſſiſtance a body of four thouſand men at arms. A ſmall band of Engliſh, levied at the expence, and animated by the preſence of lord Woodville, who, while he diſobeyed the public order, gratified the ſecret inclinations of his ſovereign, gave confidence to the cauſe, by the fame of their former proweſs. The whole of the confederate army might amount to twelve thouſand men; and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange marched on foot at the head of the infantry. The French, nearly equal in number, declined not the encounter. The Britons were broke by the impetuous charge of the French cavalry; Tremouille preſſed his advantage; the moment was deciſive; lord Woodville, with the Engliſh, periſhed on the field; and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, after an ineffectual diſplay of perſonal valour, were taken priſoners by the victors; the former, after a ſhort confinement in the caſtle of

Luſignan,

Luſignan, in Poictou, was conducted to Bourges, where he remained a captive in the great tower above two years.

A. D. 1488. 1489. The defeat of St. Aubin du Cormier, was ſoon after followed by the death of Francis the Second. The aged duke, overwhelmed by misfortunes, and oppreſſed by infirmities, was thrown from his horſe. The danger which reſulted from this accident, was fatally increaſed by the anxiety of his mind; and the unhappy prince ſunk into the grave, leaving his daughter Anne, then only thirteen years of age, the heireſs of his ſpacious dominions. The hand and rich inheritance of that princeſs were diſputed by numerous competitors. The lord d'Albert claimed it as the reward of his former ſervices; the duke of Orleans was ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſecret inclinations of the princeſs; and Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had been married to Mary of Burgundy, pleaded his ſuperior dignity, and was profuſe in his promiſe of future aſſiſtance. The firſt of theſe rivals was eſteemed too inſignificant; the ſecond was a priſoner, and it was by no means certain that a diſſolution of his former marriage with Jane, the daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, could be procured; and neceſſity, and the advice of her council, determined

Anne

Anne to prefer Maximilian; the marriage was celebrated by proxy; the count of Naſſau, as the repreſentative of the king of the Romans, introduced his naked leg into the bed of the bride; but the poverty of Maximilian prevented him from preſenting himſelf in perſon; and an union, which his preſence would have rendered indiſſoluble, was ſoon after broken; and the king of the Romans was left to regret the parſimony of his father, the emperor Frederic the Third, who refuſed him the inconſiderable ſum of two thouſand crowns, and thus deprived him of this important acquiſition.

But while Maximilian triumphed in his new alliance, the very foundation of his hopes was undermined by another competitor, of whom he had not entertained the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion; the lady of Beaujeu, who by the death of her huſband's eldeſt brother was become ducheſs of Bourbon, perceived that the conqueſt of Brittany, in oppoſition to the natives, would ſtill prove a difficult enterpriſe; the marriage of the ducheſs with the king of France, could alone fully re-annex that fief to the crown; but Charles the Eighth had been formerly affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian, who, though too young for the conſummation of her marriage, had been ſent to Paris to be educated, A. D. 1490.

and

and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Beſides her rich dowry, ſhe was alſo heireſs, after her brother Philip, to all the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy. But Anne of Bourbon determined to prefer the immediate poſſeſſion of a conſiderable territory, to a ſucceſſion, diſtant and precarious; and by diſſolving two marriages, which had been celebrated but not conſummated, to unite the king of France with the ducheſs of Brittany.

In the proſecution of this deſign, A. D. 1491. Margaret of Auſtria was ſent back to her father. The French forces puſhed their advantages in Brittany. They were received into Nantz by the lord d'Albert, enraged at his own diſappointment; and ſoon after inveſted in Rennes the ducheſs of Brittany. That princeſs, attacked on every ſide, and hopeleſs of ſuccour, long diſdained to violate the faith which ſhe had pledged; ſhe was at length vanquiſhed by the perſuaſions of the duke of Orleans, who for that purpoſe was releaſed by Charles from priſon; his influence extorted her reluctant conſent, and the nuptials of the ducheſs of Brittany with the king of France were celebrated at Langeais in Touraine.

The ſucceſs of Charles, was the A.D. 1492. moſt ſenſible mortification to the king of the Romans; he had loſt a conſiderable territory,

tory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accompliſhed princeſs whom he had eſpouſed; he was affronted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him after ſhe had been treated during ſome years as queen of France; he vented his rage in the moſt violent expreſſions; and threatened France with an invaſion from the united arms of Auſtria, Spain, and England.

Henry the Seventh, after the death of Francis the Second, had granted to the diſtreſs of his daughter a tardy and ineffectual aid; he now had reaſon to reproach himſelf with his imprudent ſupineneſs; and beheld, with a mixture of dread and indignation, his moſt uſeful ally ſwallowed up by the growing power of France. He readily cloſed with the propoſals of Maximilian; he declared his reſolution of emulating the glory of his predeceſſors, and of reviving the victories of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt; even his natural avarice ſtimulated his preparations; he was ſenſible of the diſpleaſure which the Engliſh had conceived againſt Charles, on account of the late acquiſition of Brittany; and while he exhauſted the coffers of his ſubjects, he nouriſhed their enthuſiaſtic valour with the vain idea of once more carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris.

With

With an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, Henry croſſed the ſea, landed at Calais, and inveſted Bulloigne; while Maximilian and Ferdinand had engaged to favour his operations by different attacks. With the acquiſition of Brittany, the influence of the ducheſs of Bourbon had expired; and the fears of France were augmented by the inexperience of her youthful ſovereign. Yet the ſtorm which menaced deſtruction, was ſoon huſhed. Henry, ſwayed by his ruling paſſion, accepted the immediate ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, and retired into his own dominions; Ferdinand, king of Spain, was gratified by the reſtoration of the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne; and to Maximilian was ceded part of the territory in Artois, which had been acquired by Lewis the Eleventh.

Theſe important conceſſions were made with a view of new acquiſitions, and the hope of diſtant but ſplendid conqueſts. As the character of Charles began to expand itſelf with the increaſe of his years, his ſubjects diſcerned a diſpoſition far different from that of his father. Inſtead of the dark and crafty Lewis, they beheld a king whoſe fancy was lively, though his judgment was weak; who poſſeſſed a temper the moſt amiable and gentle; and a heart which even power could

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not corrupt to the commiſſion of a crime. Fond of pleaſure, though eaſily inflamed with the love of glory, he ſacrificed alternately to both; and the pretenſions which, as heir to the houſe of Anjou, he inherited on the kingdom of Naples, formed a plauſible and flattering object to a youthful mind.

Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, governed Milan in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, the duke; an authority which depended on the favour of another but ill ſatisfied the ambitious mind of Sforza; he formed the deſign of depoſing his unſuſpecting kinſman, and ſeating himſelf on the ducal throne. So daring a crime he was conſcious muſt exite againſt him a combination of the Italian powers, who would arm in the ſupport of the injured prince. To ſecure himſelf a protector, amidſt the general odium which would enſue, and to divert the attention of Italy from the chaſtiſement of his perfidy, he negociated with the king of France, and invited him to the conqueſt of Naples; a kingdom, the claim to which had been bequeathed to Lewis the Eleventh by Charles of Anjou, count of Maine and Provence. A. D. 1493.

Ferdinand the Firſt, who then occupied the throne of Naples, was a natural ſon of Alfonſo the Fifth, king of Arragon and Naples, and ſur-

named the Wiſe and Magnanimous. He had already paſſed his ſeventieth year, and on the firſt report of the hoſtile deſigns of Charles, the aged monarch, in an embaſſy the moſt ſubmiſſive, offered to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns. Theſe conditions, ſo advantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his ſubjects, oppreſſed by years, and ſenſible of the calamities which impended over his country, was ſeized with an apoplexy, which terminated his exiſtence, and devolved his crown on his ſon Alfonſo the Second.

The remonſtrances of the ducheſs of Bourbon, the ſiſter of Charles, againſt the Italian expedition, were received with cold neglect, yet the preparations of the king ſeemed inadequate to the important enterpriſe he meditated; the army with which he propoſed to croſs the Alps and Apennines, conſiſted ſcarce of twenty thouſand men; gallant indeed and courageous, but unaccuſtomed to the fatigues of long and toilſome campaigns. The train of artillery however, the ammunition, and warlike ſtores of every kind provided for its uſe, were ſo conſiderable as to bear ſome reſemblance to the immenſe apparatus of modern war.

After a number of delays, unavoidable at the commencement of such an enterprise, Charles began his march. A.D. 1494. While he waited at Aſt, in Piedmont, for his artillery, which was obliged to be dragged over the mountains, he was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, from which he recovered after the moſt imminent danger of his life; but the ſatisfaction ariſing from the return of Charles's health was damped by the diſtreſs of the army. Amidſt the various preparations, money, the ſinews of war, had either been neglected, or was exhauſted in gratifying the avarice of the king of England, and purchaſing his neutrality; no funds were provided for future contingencies; and the king was reduced to borrow at Turin the jewels of the ducheſs of Savoy, as he did at Caſal thoſe of the marchioneſs of Montferrat, to ſupply the neceſſary expences of the enterpriſe.

The naval forces of Charles, commanded by the duke of Orleans, triumphed over the fleet of Naples, and the king of France himſelf advanced to Vigeve, where he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza, who, after a ſmall ſupply of money, left him in a few days to take poſſeſſion of Milan, which he ſeized on the death of Galeazzo his nephew, though that prince had left an infant ſon. The moſt ſagacious miniſters of

Charles adviſed him to puniſh the unnatural uncle, and to occupy Milan, which belonged of right to the family of Orleans; but the king, intoxicated with ſucceſs, and regardleſs of the rigour of the ſeaſon, purſued through the depth of winter his rapid and victorious career towards Naples.

A. D. 1494. 1495. The Italians, long undiſturbed by the invaſion of any foreign enemy, and accuſtomed to adjuſt the intereſts of their different ſtates by the arts of negociation, in vain would have oppoſed his progreſs with their effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in their country. The impetuoſity of the French valour appeared to them irreſiſtible; and the ſole obſtacles the king of France encountered were thoſe preſented by nature. On his approach to the frontiers of Tuſcany, the Florentines, who aſpired to freedom, expelled Pietro de Medicis, and received the king in military triumph into their city. Clad in complete armour, mounted on horſeback, his lance couched, and his vizor lowered, he entered Florence as a conqueror. Piſa and Sienna hailed him as their deliverer. His moſt implacable adverſary, pope Alexander the Sixth, received the intelligence of his ſucceſs with terror; he haſtily retired into the caſtle of St. Angelo, and commanded

manded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who took poſſeſſion of the city without a blow, and diſpoſed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles reſiſted the importunities of thoſe who adviſed him to depoſe the turbulent Alexander, and fill the apoſtolic chair with a more holy ſucceſſor. The king rejected their counſels, and concluded a treaty with the Roman pontiff, who ſolemnly granted him the inveſtiture of Naples, and delivered to him ſeveral ſtrong places, with his ſon Cæſar Borgia, as a pledge of the ſincerity of his intentions.

From Rome, the king preſſed forward towards Naples, where all was confuſion and affright. Alfonſo the Second, who ſucceeded his father Ferdinand, had in former difficulties merited the character of an active and warlike, though tyrannic, prince; he now for ever ſtained that reputation by the moſt baſe and unmanly deſertion of all the duties of a ſovereign. While the French were yet at the diſtance of ſixty leagues, guided only by his fears, he reſigned his ſceptre to his ſon Ferdinand the Second, and embarked on board a veſſel for Meſſina, where he ſoon after ended his days in a convent. The new king was defeated in a ſlight engagement which he hazarded, and was obliged to ſhelter himſelf in the iſle of Iſchia. A. D. 1495.

Naples inſtantly received the conqueror; the caſtle held out a very ſhort time; and of the whole kingdom only Brindiſi, Reggio, and Gallipoli, continued to declare for Ferdinand.

Dazzled with ſo extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Conſtantinople, and the ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire; but while he inconſiderately waſted his time at Naples in feſtivals and triumphs on account of his paſt ſucceſſes, or was fondly dreaming of future conqueſts in the Eaſt, a powerful combination was formed againſt him of almoſt all the Italian ſtates, ſupported by the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand king of Arragon. The Italians, though unable ſingly to reſiſt his arms, ſoon perceived that a confederacy might accompliſh what the ſeparate members of it durſt not attempt. The examples of the Roman pontiff, and the republic of Venice, were prevalent; and even the perfidious Sforza, duke of Milan, incapable of gratitude, and ſagacious to diſcern his intereſt, acceded to the league.

Charles had ſcarce made his triumphal entry into Naples, before it was neceſſary for him to determine on his retreat. His enemies aſſembled on every ſide; and the duke of Orleans, who ought to have led a body of eight thouſand men to reinforce his ſovereign, had engaged in an attempt

tempt againſt Ludovico Sforza, and had ſurpriſed the city of Novara, where he was afterwards blocked up. With ſcarce nine thouſand men, the king of France traverſed the Alps, while the confederates, whoſe forces amounted to above thirty thouſand, declined engaging in thoſe mountains, and expected him in an open plain, near the village of Fornoua, nine miles from Placentia. The courage of the French, animated by the preſence of their prince, was ſuperior to all oppoſition; Charles was among the firſt who charged the enemy, and in the action was expoſed to imminent danger, and extricated himſelf by his perſonal valour and the goodneſs of his horſe. The Italians fled before the ardour of the youthful monarch; who, unable to improve his victory from his inferior numbers, purſued his march, reached Aſt in ſecurity, and ſoon after relieved the duke of Orleans, reduced to extreme diſtreſs by famine in the city of Novara.

A reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand Swiſs enabled Charles to dictate the conditions of peace with Ludovico Sforza; but while he abandoned himſelf to pleaſures at Lyons, Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, and aſſiſted by the Spaniſh troops, guided by the ſkill of Gonſalvo Ernandez, ſurnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The

French indeed, under the command of the conſtable d'Aubigny, gained an uſeleſs victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the duke of Montpenſier, to whom the government of Naples was entruſted, ſurrendered after an obſtinate defence. Capua, Averſa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance; but before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himſelf expired, and was ſucceeded by his uncle Frederic, who in a tide of uninterrupted ſucceſs, ſwept away the few remaining garriſons of France which had eſcaped the arms of Ferdinand.

A. D. 1496. Amidſt the pleaſures and entertainments of a court, Charles ſtill continued his preparations for war, and kept his eyes fixed on Italy; but the object of his arms was changed, and he had determined to ſupport the pretenſions of the houſe of Orleans to the duchy of Milan. He had repelled a feeble invaſion of Ferdinand king of Arragon, and his mind was once more elated with the ambition of conqueſt, and the hopes of martial glory. Yet his body ſeemed but ill to correſpond with the lofty deſigns he had planned; and his exceſſive attachment to women had debilitated a frame naturally delicate and weak. So apparent were the ſymptoms of his approaching diſſolution, that the

the duke of Orleans, the heir to the crown, refuſed to take upon him the command of the army deſtined for the recovery of Milan. That prince had before incurred the diſpleaſure of the king, by diverting to the attack on Ludovico Sforza, the forces deſtined to reinforce Charles; he had more effectually awakened the reſentment of the queen, by an injury of a domeſtic nature; the death of the dauphin, the only ſon of Charles and Anne, who expired ſoon after the return of the former from Italy, ſunk deep in the mind of the latter; the king, to alleviate her concern, adviſed his courtiers to procure her daily amuſements; the duke of Orleans with this intention appeared at a maſquerade, and exerted himſelf in a dance to a degree of extravagance; Anne interpreted theſe marks of levity to his ſatisfaction at the dauphin's death, which opened to him the ſucceſſion; and diſguiſed not her indignation. His refuſal to head the expedition againſt Milan, completed his diſgrace; and he prudently retired from court, to a life of privacy in the caſtle of Blois.

On the retreat of the duke of Orleans, all military preparations were A. D. 1497. ſuſpended, and the cavalry which had paſſed the Alps were recalled. The king himſelf, conſcious of the decline of his health, employed his hours

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in the internal regulation of his kingdom, and in alleviating the burdens of his ſubjects. His attachment to the fair, had already been productive of very injurious conſequences to his conſtitution, but he now relinquiſhed his former irregularities, and retired with the queen to the caſtle of Amboiſe, a reſidence which he had ever regarded with peculiar fond partiality.

A. D. 1498. From a gallery in that caſtle he was engaged in ſurveying a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; deſirous that the queen might partake of the amuſement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but in preſſing through a door, he ſtruck his head with violence againſt the top, which was very low. He felt however no immediate bad conſequences from the accident, and was converſing with his confeſſor, the biſhop of Angers, and avowing his determination to obſerve the nuptial fidelity that he owed to the queen, when he ſuddenly fell back in an apoplectic fit. The attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which ſtood in the corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly loſt it again; his expreſſions were ſolely thoſe of devotion; and notwithſtanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the ſame night, in the fifteenth

year

year of his reign, and in the twenty-eighth of his age.

The amiable qualities of Charles, acquired him the ſurnames of the Affable and the Courteous; and his character has been delineated by Comines with ſtrength and ſimplicity, "a man of little "perſon, and ſlender underſtanding; but ſo "ſweet in his diſpoſition, that it was impoſſible "to find a better temper." His funeral obſequies were performed with uncommon magnificence; two of his domeſtics are ſaid to have died of grief for the loſs of their beloved maſter; and Anne of Brittany, his widow, abandoned herſelf to all the diſtraction of ſorrow. During two days ſhe ſecluded herſelf in a corner of her chamber overwhelmed with deſpair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and obſtinately refuſing to accept the nouriſhment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

Chapter the Twenty-ſecond.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE AS LEWIS THE TWELFTH—MARRIES THE WIDOW OF CHARLES—INVADES MILAN AND NAPLES—IS DECEIVED BY FERDINAND, KING OF ARRAGON—SUCCESSIVE WARS IN ITALY—LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, AND DEFEAT OF THE VENETIANS—VICTORIES, AND DEATH OF GASTON DE FOIX—CONFEDERACY AGAINST LEWIS—DEATH OF ANNE OF BRITTANY—MARRIAGE OF LEWIS WITH MARY OF ENGLAND—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

A. D. 1498. IN Charles the Eighth ended the direct line of Valois; and the ſceptre paſſed to Lewis duke of Orleans, grandſon to the firſt duke of Orleans, who was aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of John duke of Burgundy; the new king, who aſcended the throne with the title of

Lewis

Lewis the Twelfth, was in poſſeſſion of the mature vigour of body and mind; he had attained his thirty-ſixth year; the fire of youth was tempered by experience; and in the ſevere ſchool of adverſity, he had learned to feel for the diſtreſs of others. During the regency of the lady of Beaujeu he had paſſed two years of loneſome impriſonment; and though liberated by the generoſity of Charles, he never poſſeſſed the confidence, and ſoon after incurred the diſpleaſure of that monarch.

From his retirement at Blois, he was called to the cares of royalty; and the firſt acts of his adminiſtration diſplayed the mild and magnanimous features of his character; he repealed ſeveral taxes moſt obnoxious to the people; and when reminded by his courtiers that la Tremouille had made him priſoner at the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, he returned the juſtly celebrated anſwer, "it becomes not a king of France to revenge the "quarrels of the duke of Orleans."

We have already explained the pretenſions of the houſe of Orleans to the kingdom of Naples; but though Lewis was deſirous of aſſerting the claims of his family, the firſt moments of his reign were dedicated to concerns of a more domeſtic nature. He had been early, and reluctantly, married by Lewis the Eleventh to Jane, the

youngeſt

youngeſt daughter of that monarch, a princeſs of an amiable diſpoſition, but deformed in her perſon, and ſuppoſed to be incapable of bearing children; on the oath of the king of France, that he had never conſummated his marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth declared the union void and illegal; Jane ſubmitted with decent reſignation to a ſentence which deprived her of a crown; and retiring to a nunnery, in which ſhe took the veil, cloſed a life of humble virtue.

A. D. 1499. On the deceaſe of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany, after indulging her unavailing ſorrows, had retired into her own hereditary dominions, and affected to maintain the rights of an independent ſovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from diſpoſing of her hand, in caſe of his death without male iſſue, to the prejudice of the ſtate; yet where female paſſions are concerned, a ſtipulation ſo equivocal in its nature, could be but little depended on; and prudence warned Lewis to ſecure the important acquiſition of Brittany by meaſures the moſt effectual. To the policy of the monarch were joined the inclinations of the man; when an exile in the court of duke Francis the Second, he was ſuppoſed to have regarded Anne with the fondeſt partiality; and it was equally believed that princeſs was only deterred

terred by the perplexed ſtate of his and her own circumſtances, from preferring him to her other ſuitors.

The diſpleaſure Anne had entertained at the levity of the duke, on the death of the dauphin, was baniſhed by the ſplendid proſpect which preſented itſelf, or overwhelmed by the tide of returning affection. She received the propoſals of Lewis without heſitation, who haſtened to Nantz, celebrated in that city his marriage, and conducted his new conſort to Blois. Yet the queen, ſtill anxious to ſecure, if poſſible, the independence of her native duchy, ſtipulated, that if their union ſhould be productive of two ſons, the younger ſhould inherit Brittany, with all the prerogatives of its former princes; a clauſe injurious to France, but which was rendered ineffectual by her having no ſon, and by the marriage of her eldeſt daughter Claude, to Francis count d'Angouleſme, who afterwards aſcended the throne.

While the king was diverted by his domeſtic concerns from the immediate invaſion of Italy, Ludovico Sforza diligently improved each moment in preparing againſt the ſtorm, which he expected from its delay would burſt with redoubled violence. He reſtored his fortifications, augmented his garriſons, and repleniſhed his magazines; but the precautions of A. D. 1500.

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an uſurper, whoſe crimes had eſtranged the affections, and united the enmity of his ſubjects, muſt ever prove fruitleſs. The general voice of Italy accuſed him of having poiſoned his nephew John Galeazzo; and the tyrant, in his own bloody perfidy, foreſaw the revolt and deſertion of his people. Lewis had allured the republic of Venice by the promiſe of a part of his ſpoils; he had terminated by a recent treaty the differences which had ariſen between him and the emperor Maximilian; and had renewed the peace with Henry the Seventh of England. Strengthened by his alliances, and ſecure from the incurſions of his natural enemies, he aſſembled his forces for the long projected expedition; the remonſtrances of the cardinal d'Amboiſe deterred him from expoſing himſelf in perſon; and his army, compoſed of twenty thouſand men, the flower of French chivalry, was commanded by Lewis of Luxemburgh count of Ligni, by Robert Stuart lord d'Aubigny, and by John Trivalce, a native of Milan, who had approved his fidelity in the ſervice of his predeceſſor.

The deteſtation of his own ſubjects was more fatal to Sforza than the arms of France and Venice. The cities of Milan were impatient to open their gates to the invaders, and to throw off the yoke of the treacherous uſurper. The Venetians, in leſs

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than a week made themſelves maſters of the country beyond the Adda; the French entered Piedmont, and purſued their conqueſts with equal rapidity: the caſtle of Milan, provided with every requiſite for a long and obſtinate defence, was betrayed by Bernardin Curtio, to whom Sforza had entruſted the care of it. Ludovico himſelf, uncertain in whom he ſhould confide, and incapable of reſiſting the ſtorm, retired with his treaſures to Inſpruck; and Lewis, informed of the ſucceſs of his arms, haſtened acroſs the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and during three months that he remained there, by the advice of cardinal d'Amboiſe, he employed himſelf in recalling thoſe that had been baniſhed by Sforza, in remitting a fourth of the impoſts, in eſtabliſhing a court of juſtice, and in aſſiduous endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the inhabitants of Milan.

So equitable an adminiſtration it was natural to ſuppoſe would have ſecured the attachment of his people; but Lewis had ſcarce returned into the territories of France, before Sforza ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to enter again the Milaneſe. The levity and inconſtancy of the Italians were immediately apparent. They abhorred the proſperous uſurper, but they pitied and embraced the ſupport of the princely fugi-

tive. The gates of the different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the ſame facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies; and the duke once more entered Milan, from whence he had ſo lately fled to ſeek a wretched ſhelter in exile. But this gleam of ſucceſs was quickly followed by a ſad reverſe of fortune. The Swiſs troops, whom he entertained in his ſervice, conſpired againſt him; and with a perfidy, which even the guilt of Ludovico cannot juſtify, delivered him up to la Tremouille, who commanded the French forces encamped near Novara. He was conducted to Lyons, where Lewis then reſided; and the temper of that monarch, naturally mild and humane, was ſteeled againſt Sforza by his repeated treachery and enormities. He ſentenced him to a rigorous confinement in the caſtle of Loches, in Touraine; but the ſeverity of his impriſonment was afterwards mitigated; during the latter part of it he was even indulged in the amuſements of the chaſe; and he was at laſt releaſed, from a captivity of ten years, by the ſtroke of death.

A. D. 1501. From the reduction of the Milaneſe, Lewis aſpired to the partial conqueſt of Naples, and he agreed to divide that kingdom with Ferdinand of Arragon. By the treaty concluded between the two princes, Naples and the

the northern half of the kingdom were aſſigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. The ſucceſs of the confederates exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations. Frederic, equally puſillanimous, or more unfortunate than his predeceſſors, renounced the garb of royalty, and ſought a tranſient ſhelter on the rock of Iſchia. Abandoned by his own ſubjects, and betrayed by Ferdinand of Arragon, with whom he had lately concluded a treaty of alliance, he determined to prefer an open and generous enemy to a perfidious ally. He demanded a ſafe conduct into France, and threw himſelf on the well known lenity of Lewis: from the liberality of that monarch he obtained an aſylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual penſion of thirty thouſand crowns, which was continued to him even after the expulſion of the French from Naples.

The ſkill and valour of the great captain, Gonſalvo de Cordova, had made an eaſy conqueſt of the two provinces aſſigned to the king of Arragon. Tarento alone preſumed to oppoſe his victorious career; confiding in the ſtrength of their walls, the inhabitants were ſtill further animated by the preſence of Ferdinand, the heir of the crown, and eldeſt ſon of Frederic, who was ſhut up in that fortreſs: but the count of Potenza, and

Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whoſe protection the youthful prince was entruſted, deſpairing of ſuccour, conſented to ſurrender Tarento, if they were not relieved within four months: but they demanded an oath that Ferdinand ſhould be left at perfect liberty; Gonſalvo, whoſe military fame is ſtained with the blackeſt treachery and baſeſt perjury, readily complied; he ſwore upon a conſecrated hoſt, and was admitted into Tarento; but the perfidious Spaniard heſitated not to detain the young prince as his priſoner; he was conveyed in that ſtate to the king of Arragon; and though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of the court of Spain, till death extinguiſhed in him the Arragoneſe line of Neapolitan kings.

The intervals of tranquillity from his Italian wars were diligently employed by Lewis in promoting the internal regulation of his country. The ſtates-general of Tours had repreſented to the late king the neceſſity of a council to decide in judicial appeals, and to enforce the adminiſtration of juſtice. The meaſure had been approved by Charles; but it received its legal ſanction in the reign of Lewis. By an edict, the king's council was erected into a court, which obtained the name of the great council. It conſiſted of twenty members, and the chancellor of

France

France was appointed preſident. The parliament of Paris conceived no improper jealouſy of this inſtitution, which though at firſt confined to cauſes pleaded in the common courts of juſtice, was ſoon called upon by the king to determine on matters which had been agitated before the parliament, and was conſidered as a dernier reſort from the tribunal of the latter.

In the reduction of Naples we have beheld Lewis and Ferdinand acting with perfect cordiality; but ſcarce had they atchieved that conqueſt, before they turned their arms againſt each other. The Spaniards firſt infringed the peace by acts of open hoſtility; but the king having commanded his troops to repel force by force, his general the duke of Nemours took the field, and puſhed his advantages over the Spaniards to ſuch a length, that Gonſalvo was reduced to retire into the city of Barletta, where the want of ammunition and money had nearly compelled him to ſurrender. An indigent and mutinous army was more likely to ſecond, than oppoſe the operations of the French; but at the moment that the hand of Lewis was ſtretched out to graſp the entire kingdom of Naples, he was perſuaded to liſten to the language of accommodation, and loſt an opportunity which it was never afterwards in his power to regain. A. D. 1502.

A. D. 1503. Philip the arch-duke, the ſon of the emperor Maximilian, and who had eſpouſed Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was at this critical period paſſing through France, on his return from Spain into his native dominions of the Low Countries. Inveſted with full powers in a perſonal interview with Lewis at Lyons, he concluded a treaty with him in the name of his father-in-law. By the conditions of it, Charles, the ſon of Philip, was to receive in marriage Claude, the eldeſt daughter of the king of France; the two monarchs were bound to a ceſſation of arms; the provinces originally ceded to each were confirmed; and the diſtricts in diſpute were to be ſequeſtered into the hands of the arch-duke.

The ambaſſadors of Ferdinand, who attended Philip, having ſworn to the execution of this agreement, under pain of excommunication if violated or infringed, it was next officially announced to the two commanders in Naples. The duke of Nemours, conſcious of the ſincerity of his ſovereign, readily profeſſed his acquieſcence to his orders, and offered to retire with his troops; but Gonſalvo, who diſregarded the moſt ſolemn compacts, unleſs conſiſtent with his intereſt, and who was ſenſible of the congenial diſpoſition of his royal maſter, affected to doubt the powers of the

the archduke, and urged the propriety of his waiting for more expreſs inſtructions. In the mean time he received from Maximilian a reinforcement of ten thouſand Germans; he was alſo informed that the pope and the Venetians were ready to deſert the alliance of Lewis; and that four thouſand French, deſtined for the army in Naples, were diſbanded on the idea that peace was already concluded. Antonio de Leyva, about the ſame time, had attacked and routed in Calabria a body of French commanded by the lord d'Aubigny. Gonſalvo was determined to avail himſelf of theſe favourable circumſtances, and of the ſuperiority he had acquired. In the battle of Cerignoles, without regard to the late convention, he encountered and defeated the duke of Nemours, who periſhed with great part of his army in the field; while Naples opened her gates to the victor, and her example was followed by Capua and Averſa.

D'Aubigny had indeed, after his defeat in Calabria, thrown himſelf into Angitole, where, ſupported by the zeal of the inhabitants, and that portion of his troops which had eſcaped the ſword of the enemy, he had ſuſtained a ſiege of ſeveral days; he was at laſt compelled to capitulate; he himſelf remained as an hoſtage till his troops evacuated the country; and excepting Gaieta, the

kingdom of Naples was totally ſubdued by Gonſalvo. It was in Savoy that the arch-duke received the intelligence of this ſhameful breach of a treaty for which he had pledged his honour. Jealous of his own reputation, and alarmed leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected of having abetted the perfidious practices of his father-in-law, he returned inſtantly into France, and put himſelf in the power of Lewis. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to Ferdinand, to remonſtrate on the indelible infamy which muſt for ever ſtain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonſalvo. But the king of Arragon, attentive only to the importance of his new acquiſitions, was indifferent to reputation. With his uſual duplicity, he at one moment diſowned his ambaſſadors, at another his general; he publicly offered to reſtore the kingdom to the captive Frederic; but he ſecretly ſent orders to puſh the war in Naples to the abſolute expulſion of the French; theſe laſt were punctually obeyed by Gonſalvo, who, almoſt without reſiſtance, ſoon afterwards completed the reduction of the kingdom.

Lewis, whoſe magnanimous mind was ſuperior to the dark artifices of his rival, commanded the miniſters of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had ſeverely ſuffered from the

the treachery of Ferdinand, he ſcorned to avail himſelf of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he diſmiſſed the arch-duke with every mark of reſpect to purſue his route to Flanders, he addreſſed him at parting in theſe memorable words: "If your father-in-law has "been guilty of perfidy, I will not reſemble "him; and I am infinitely happier in the loſs "of a kingdom, which I know how to re-con-"quer, than to have ſtained my honour, which "I could never retrieve."

But if ſuch were indeed the expectations of Lewis, they were expoſed to the moſt mortifying and unmerited diſappointment. Irritated by the duplicity of Ferdinand, he determined to attack him with the whole force of France; and his preparations were proportioned to the injuries he had received. Three armies were aſſembled, to invade on every ſide the dominions of the king of Arragon. The firſt, commanded by la Tremouille, and compoſed of eighteen thouſand infantry, and two thouſand cavalry, was deſtined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the ſecond conſiſted of five thouſand Swiſs and French, and a thouſand men at arms, and under the conduct of the lord d'Albert and the mareſchal de Giè, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontarabia. The third, ſtill more numerous,

merous, was entruſted to the mareſchal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Rouſſillon; at the ſame time a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to inſult the coaſts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at ſea between Spain and Naples.

A. D. 1504. The indiſpoſition of la Tremouille proved fatal to the Italian expedition; the command of the army was devolved on the marquis of Mantua; but unable to engage the affection of his officers, that general ſoon retired, and was ſucceeded by the marquis of Saluces. The French, reduced by ſickneſs, retired within the walls of Gaieta, where they were ſoon after inveſted by Gonſalvo. Famine compelled them to ſurrender; but Gonſalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, which expreſſed that they ſhould be permitted to retire without ranſom; and ſhamefully detained in captivity all thoſe who were natives of Naples. Lewis d'Ars, indeed, a gallant French officer, rejecting the late capitulation, and inſidious offers of the great captain, and depending ſolely on his ſword, with about four thouſand men effected a glorious retreat into the territories of Milan. But this conduct, ſo honourable to himſelf, could not avert the fate of Naples, and Gonſalvo preſerved by

his ſkill the kingdom which he had acquired by his treachery.

The army deſtined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the diſſentions of its generals; and, after a variety of injudicious operations, joined the forces of France in Rouſſillon, and formed the ſiege of Salſes; but the French were compelled to retire on the approach of Ferdinand himſelf at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men. The fleet alſo, after alarming the coaſts of Valentia and Catalonia, returned to Marſeilles, and Lewis had the mortification of beholding his formidable armaments baffled in every enterpriſe. The death of Alexander the Sixth, and the election of Julius the Second to the apoſtolical ſee, to the diſappointment of the cardinal d'Amboiſe, was an event equally unfavourable to the views of France; the mind of her monarch, oppreſſed by this ſtorm of adverſity, dangerouſly affected his body. A fever, produced by anxiety and vexation, threatened his immediate diſſolution. Anne, daily apprehenſive of the death of her royal conſort, determined to provide for her own ſecurity, embarked her rich moveables, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The veſſels which ſhe had laden were ſtopped by the imprudent zeal of the mareſchal de Giè; an offence

fence which enſured the future enmity of Anne; and Lewis himſelf, on his recovery, by joining in the perſecution of a faithful ſervant, has fixed no inconſiderable ſtain on his own character.

A.D. 1505. As ſoon as the health of the king was re-eſtabliſhed, he diligently applied himſelf to terminate a war which had hitherto proved ſo unpropitious. A truce had been concluded with Spain for the countries bordering on the Pyrenees; but the faith of Ferdinand could no longer be relied on; and a variety of negociations were carried on between the king of France, the emperor Maximilian, and the archduke Philip. The latter in right of his wife Joanna, on the death of Iſabella queen of Caſtile, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the ſyſtem of European politics. Ferdinand the Catholic was again reduced to his original kingdom of Arragon, after having ineffectually diſplayed his uſual fineſſe to obtain the regency of Caſtile. He now endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the king of France, and, ſenſible of the regard of that monarch for his niece Germana de Foix, he ſolicited and obtained in marriage the hand of that princeſs. This new alliance ſerved to conciliate the animoſity of the contending monarchs; a treaty was at length concluded; and Lewis honourably ſtipulated that

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the Neapolitan nobility, who had been impriſoned as his adherents by Gonſalvo, ſhould be reſtored to their freedom: and that the partizans of the houſe of Anjou ſhould be reimburſed for the loſſes they had incurred by their fidelity to that family; a condition which the ſituation of Ferdinand's affairs compelled him to accede to, and which the king of France took care that he ſhould punctually perform.

In a former treaty, the marriage of Claude, the eldeſt daughter of the king, with Charles the ſon of the archduke Philip, had been determined on; but the ſtates had modeſtly repreſented to the king the danger to the crown from that princeſs transferring to her conſort, not only her pretenſions to the Italian acquiſitions, but alſo to the province of Brittany. The king yielded to their remonſtrances; he beſtowed the hand of Claude on the count d'Angouleſme, the next heir to the throne; and thus avenged himſelf of the former perfidy of Ferdinand, while the ſeaſonable death of the archduke precluded any differences which this alteration might have produced between him and Lewis. A. D. 1506.

The ſudden and unexpected death of the archduke Philip, again reſtored Ferdinand of Arragon to the adminiſtration that he had loſt. As he

he was in Italy when this event happened, an interview took place at Savona, in the territories of Genoa, between him and Lewis. The fears of the former, leſt the king of France ſhould oppoſe his deſigns on the regency of Caſtile, were his concealed motives to this interview. They again renewed their alliance, and ſwore to the ſtrict obſervance of the articles of peace; but Ferdinand, who knew no principle of public or private fidelity, and only regarded his own intereſts, infringed and violated every condition on his return into Spain.

A. D. 1507. But the attention of the king of France was engroſſed by the affairs of Italy. Julius the Second, though more decent in exterior, poſſeſſed the daring ſpirit of his predeceſſor, and diſplayed a diſpoſition better ſuited to the camp than the conclave. Forgetful of the protection which Lewis had extended to him under the pontificate of Alexander, he exerted his genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nouriſhing the diſcontents of the Genoeſe. Theſe at laſt broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a ſilk-dyer, their Duke. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian; and were openly reinforced by the troops of Piſa. Lewis, ſenſible how much his reputation depended

depended on immediately cruſhing the inſurgents, aſſembled a numerous and formidable army, forced the paſſes which the rebels had occupied, and in perſon ſtormed their intrenchments. The Genoeſe, diſconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to diſarm his reſentment by ſubmiſſion. The king, clad in complete armour, and with a ſtern countenance entered Genoa; but his natural clemency prevailed; and after puniſhing Paul Nuova, and another incendiary, with death, he contented himſelf with impoſing on the city a fine of three hundred thouſand ducats.

During the various conteſts of the ſtates of Italy, the conſtitution of Venice had maintained its ſtability, and the ſenate conducted its affairs with prudence and vigour. The territories of the commonwealth were enlarged; and the commerce which it carried on, and the manufactures which it had eſtabliſhed, rendered it the moſt opulent ſtate in Europe. The power of the Venetians became at length an object of terror to their neighbours; and their wealth was viewed with envy by the greateſt monarchs, who ill brooked the ſuperior magnificence of theſe haughty citizens. Julius the Second regarded them with peculiar enmity; his intrigues firſt laid the foundation of the league of A. D. 1508.

Cambray,

Cambray, which united, with himſelf, againſt the republic, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Lewis. However policy might actuate the two former, the determination of the latter has been univerſally cenſured; ſince he combined with his three moſt inveterate enemies, againſt a ſtate, the only ally which he could depend on beyond the Alps.

The different princes of Italy had acceded, from fear or envy, to the league of Cambray; and the Venetians, with a preſumption different from their natural character, inſtead of bending before the ſtorm, prepared to meet it with firmneſs. Julius had early repented of his new alliance, and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were reſtored to the church, to deſert the cauſe he had embarked in; but Venice, confident of her ſtrength, rejected his propoſals. Lewis himſelf on this occaſion croſſed the Alps in perſon. The impetuous valour of the French, animated by the example of their monarch, triumphed over all obſtacles; in the battle of Ghiarrada, Alviano the Venetian general, after diſplaying the courage of a ſoldier and the ſkill of a commander, was defeated with the loſs of above eight thouſand men. Julius immediately ſeized all the towns which the republic held in the eccleſiaſtical territories; thoſe A. D. 1509.

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on the coaſt of Calabria, Ferdinand re-annexed to his Neapolitan dominions; on one ſide Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice, while the French rapidly preſſed their conqueſts on the other. From the height of preſumption, the Venetians ſunk to the depth of deſpair; and in their capital expected the fatal blow which was to extinquiſh them as a republick.

But though the confederates had readily united to humble the pride of Venice, their ſucceſs ſoon revived their ancient jealouſy and animoſities. Each dreaded the aggrandiſement of the other, and a mutual ſuſpicion prevailed through every part. Their diſcord rekindled the hopes of Venice; by well timed conceſſions, the ſenate appeaſed the pope and Ferdinand; their arts at length diſſolved a confederacy which threatened to ſwallow up the common-wealth; but though the Venetians recovered again many of their cities, they never could entirely retrieve their former influence, or extent of territory; while Lewis, who had rather been guided by reſentment than political motives, when he engaged in the league of Cambray, had too much reaſon to repent the error that he had committed, during the future part of his reign.

A. D. 1510. The death of the cardinal of Amboiſe, firſt miniſter of ſtate, was another loſs to the kingdom. His virtue and diſintereſted ſpirit have been juſtly celebrated by contemporary hiſtorians. On the death of Alexander the Sixth, he had aſpired to the pontificate, but he was betrayed by the cardinal de la Rovera, to whom his intereſts were entruſted, and who availed himſelf of that confidence to poſſeſs himſelf of the apoſtolical chair, as Julius the Second. but though the cardinal of Amboiſe was thus defrauded of the dignity he expected, he found ſome conſolation in the gratitude of a people whoſe councils he guided; and the tears of France embalmed the memory of her miniſter.

The king of France was deprived of the counſels of the cardinal at the moment that they were moſt neceſſary to him. The pope, elated by the effects of a league which he himſelf had planned, conceived no enterpriſe too difficult for him, and entertained the hope of expelling every foreign power out of Italy. He directed his firſt attack againſt the French. He abſolved the Venetians from the interdict he had fulminated againſt them; he laboured to reconcile them to the emperor; he negociated with Henry the Eighth who had ſucceeded to the throne of England;

land; and he at laſt openly declared war againſt the king of France, entered the duchy of Ferrara, and laid ſiege to Mirandola. The progreſs of his forces not equalling his expectation, he appeared himſelf in the trenches, exhorted his troops to the attack, and on the ſurrender of the city cauſed himſelf to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.

The king, from his natural moderation, and from the veneration of his A. D. 1511. conſort for the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, had forbidden his generals to carry their incurſions into the territory of the church; but rouzed by reiterated acts of hoſtility, he at length commanded the mareſchal Chaumont to avenge the inſult he had received; that officer preſſed Julius ſo vigorouſly that he was compelled to retire into Ravenna, when Chaumont himſelf was ſuddenly ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, and expired, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. This ſeaſonable death allowed Julius time to recover; but the mareſchal Trivulzio, who was appointed to ſucceed Chaumont, ſoon reduced him to his former diſtreſs; he dreaded his depoſition from the holy dignity, he beheld Rome expoſed to the forces of his enemy, and would probably have thrown himſelf on the clemency of Lewis, had not that monarch been again prevailed on by the queen to ſpare

the territories of the church, and thus revived the arrogance and vindictive ſpirit of the Roman pontiff.

Though Julius tottered beneath the increaſing weight of age and infirmities, his enmity to France ſeems to have actuated him in the laſt moments of his life. He entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon; he exhauſted his coffers in ſubſidies to the Swiſs; and he allured to his ſide the Venetians whom he had ſo lately endeavoured to oppreſs. The confederacy which he formed obtained the name of the *Holy League*; the army of the allies ravaged the duchy of Milan, retook Breſcia, and beſieged Bologna, when the drooping ſpirits of the French were reanimated by the preſence of a youthful hero, whoſe life was a ſhort, but rapid career of uninterrupted victory and refulgent glory.

A. D. 1512. Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, was ſon to John de Foix, by Mary of Orleans, ſiſter to Lewis the Twelfth. The hopes of obtaining his niece an advantageous match, had reconciled that monarch to the perfidious Ferdinand, who eſpouſed her; and the eſteem of the king for his nephew was not leſs apparent. Though Gaſton had ſcarce attained his twenty-third year, his martial genius burſt forth with ſuperior luſtre, and Lewis entruſted

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to his arm the honourable taſk of reſtoring the fame and fortunes of his country. The duke of Nemours juſtified the choice of his ſovereign. During the ſiege of Bologna, he entered the city under cover of a prodigious fall of ſnow, unperceived by the aſſailants, who inſtantly retired from before the place; he relieved the garriſon of Breſcia; and, with only ſix thouſand choſen ſoldiers, defeated the Venetian general Baglioni, who oppoſed his march; and glutted his followers with the ſlaughter of eight thouſand of the enemy. The moſt important victories were indeed neceſſary to extricate Lewis from his difficulties; and that monarch, ſenſible that the Florentines were ready to declare for the holy league, ſent orders to Gaſton to hazard a deciſive action. To induce the enemy to this meaſure, the duke of Nemours laid ſiege to Ravenna; the confederates advanced to the relief of that city. The two armies were nearly equal in number, each conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men. In that celebrated battle, Gaſton diſplayed the qualities of a conſummate and experienced leader; the confederates were broken by his ſuperior genius and valour, and the day was already gained, when the hero was informed that a body of four thouſand Spaniards ſtill maintained their ground, and had repulſed ſome of his own troops. De-

ſirous of rendering his victory complete, he ruſhed forwards to the charge, with about twenty gentlemen. He was received with ſteady courage, and oppreſſed by a multitude of enemies; his horſe was killed under him; and he himſelf, after having fought with the moſt heroic courage, fell pierced with twenty-two wounds.

Lewis lamented the untimely fate of his nephew, and appointed the mareſchal Trivulzio to ſucceed to the command; but the fortune of the French ſeems to have expired with the duke of Nemours; diſſentions aroſe in the victorious army; Julius reſumed freſh courage; a ſeries of diſaſters ſucceeded each other; and the French, who had ſo lately aſpired to the total conqueſt of Italy, were overwhelmed on every ſide with a torrent of adverſity.

A. D. 1513. Julius the Second was not permitted to behold the expulſion of a people whom he had purſued with implacable enmity. His death is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by vexation, at having ineffectually laboured more ſtrongly to cement the confederacy that he had formed; but John de Medicis, who ſucceeded him under the title of Leo the Tenth, proſecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predeceſſor. The Venetians returning to their former cautious councils, had declared their

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determination to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; but the Swiſs had broke into the Milaneſe, defeated the mareſchals la Tremouille and Trivulzio with ſignal ſlaughter, and reſtored the duchy to the authority of Francis Sforza, the ſon of the unfortunate Ludovico.

Genoa had ſeized the favourable moment to throw off the yoke; and Lewis was threatened by a confederacy ſimilar to that which had ſo lately humbled the pride of Venice. The pope was to enter Dauphinè; the emperor to invade Champagne; the Swiſs, Burgundy; Henry of England, Picardy; and Ferdinand, Guienne and Languedoc. But Leo the Tenth, the liberal patron of the arts and ſciences, was ſatiate with the ſound of war. The emperor, indigent and fickle, ſought only to ſupply his profuſion by the ſubſidies of his allies; and Ferdinand employed his forces in ſucceſsfully wreſting from John d'Albert, the ſmall kingdom of Navarre, which lies on the frontiers between France and Spain.

Henry indeed young and ardent, and inflamed with the proſpect of military glory, landed at Calais, and formed the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy. To the relief of that place Lewis advanced as far as Amiens; but the cavalry of France, in endeavouring to cover a convoy for the town, was attacked by

the Engliſh. Though the French conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen, and had behaved with the greateſt gallantry in the wars of Italy, they were on the ſight of the enemy ſeized with an unaccountable panic; and from the precipitation with which they fled, the rout of that day has obtained the name of the *Battle of Spurs*; yet Henry, inſtead of purſuing his advantage and ſtorming the entrenchments of an army already diſmayed, returned to the ſiege of Terouane, which was at length compelled to capitulate.

The Swiſs in the mean time had entered Burgundy, and inveſted Dijon with their victorious forces. The walls of that city would have proved but a weak obſtacle to their impetuous valour; but they allowed themſelves to be ſeduced into a negociation by la Tremouille, governor of Burgundy; who, though conſcious that he ſhould be diſavowed by his maſter, purchaſed their retreat by a liberal diſtribution of money, and by ſplendid promiſes, which Lewis afterwards refuſed to fulfil.

Henry, at the ſolicitations of Maximilian, had, after the taking of Terouane, engaged in the ſiege of Tournay, a city within the frontiers of Flanders; opulent indeed, but from its ſituation an acquiſition of no importance to the king of England. By its ancient charter, Tournay was

exempted

exempted from the burthen of a garriſon; but the inhabitants ſhewed themſelves unworthy of this honourable privilege, and in a few days opened their gates to the Engliſh. Henry had ſcarce happily terminated this enterpriſe, before he was informed of the retreat of the Swiſs; the deſertion of his allies, with the unfavourable ſeaſon of the year, determined him to repaſs the ſeas with the greater part of his army; little ſatisfied with a campaign, which though apparently proſperous, but ill compenſated for the expence with which it had been attended.

Yet although Lewis had averted the immediate fury of the ſtorm, he A. D. 1514. was ſtill ſenſible of the dangers to which his kingdom was expoſed. The king of Scotland, whom he had excited to invade England, had periſhed, with his principal nobility, on the diſaſterous field of Flouden; and France, he was conſcious, could only be ſaved by diſſolving the confederacy of her enemies. By the language of ſubmiſſion he diſarmed the reſentment of Leo the Tenth, willing to preſerve the balance of the contending powers. He allured Ferdinand and Maximilian, by the propoſal of beſtowing his ſecond daughter on one of their common grandſons; and the death of his conſort, Anne of Brittany, which happened at this critical juncture,

allowed

allowed him to negociate a treaty, not only of peace, but of alliance, with Henry the Eighth.

It was with indignation that monarch received the intelligence of the perfidy of Ferdinand and Maximilian. His reſentment at finding himſelf the dupe of their arts, encouraged the duke of Longueville, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Spurs, to avail himſelf of his favourable diſpoſition, and to propoſe a peace, which he knew to be paſſionately deſired by his maſter. He inſinuated, that the death of the queen of France opened the proſpect for an affinity, which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms; that though the marriage of a princeſs of ſixteen, with a king of fifty-three, might ſeem unſuitable, yet this inequality might be compenſated by other deſirable circumſtances; and that Henry, in withdrawing from the perfidious Ferdinand, would connect himſelf with Lewis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

Henry readily liſtened to the diſcourſe of Longueville; and Lewis accepted, with tranſport, an alliance which converted a formidable enemy into an important friend. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the two monarchs; Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole, an exile

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in France, who affected to revive the pretenſions of the houſe of York, ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, there to live on a penſion aſſigned him by Lewis; that Henry ſhould receive the payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, not excepting the late, who was heireſs of Brittany.

In conſequence of this treaty, Mary was ſent over to France with a ſplendid retinue, and her marriage with Lewis was celebrated at Abbeville. A. D. 1515. An alliance, which had been ſuggeſted by political views, was cemented by the charms of his new queen; and the king of France, ſecure on the ſide of England, began already to meditate future expeditions againſt Italy; but his deſigns were broken by death; he had been frequently heard to repeat, that "love is the king "of young, but the tyrant of old men;" and he was now condemned to experience the truth of that maxim. His conſtitution, already ſhaken, was exhauſted by his affection for Mary, with whoſe beauty, grace, and numerous accompliſhments, he was enchanted. Three months after his nuptials he was ſeized with a fever and dyſentery at the palace of the Tournelles in Paris, and breathed his

his laſt in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The character of Lewis is diſtinguiſhed by a ſuperior integrity, ſeldom to be diſcerned in princes; and though ſometimes the dupe of his goodneſs of heart, and the treachery of his neighbours, yet he well deſerved the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. In him expired the elder branch of the houſe of Orleans, and the ſceptre of France was transferred to that of Angouleſme.

Chapter the Twenty-third.

ACCESSION OF FRANCIS THE FIRST—INVASION OF NAPLES AND VICTORY OF MARIGNANO—COMPETITION BETWEEN FRANCIS AND CHARLES FOR THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY—WARS BETWEEN FRANCIS AND THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH—LOSS OF MILAN—REVOLT OF BOURBON—DEFEAT OF BONNIVET—SIEGE OF MARSEILLES—SIEGE AND BATTLE OF PAVIA.

THE laſt moments of Lewis, ever vigilant over the happineſs of his people, were embittered by a prophetic dread of the ſplendid, but dangerous qualities of his ſucceſſor; Francis the Firſt, who aſcended the vacant throne, was the ſon of Charles count d'Angouleſme by Louiſa of Savoy; the preſumptive heir of the crown, he had eſpouſed Claude, the daughter of the late monarch, by Anne of Brittany; and on his acceſſion to royalty, had but lately completed his A. D. 1515.

his twentieth year. Formed with the mien of a hero, he excelled in the exerciſes of a martial age; eloquent in debate, and undaunted in action; courteous in his manners, and bounteous in his diſpoſition, his virtues and accompliſhments dazzled an unthinking crowd, blind to the miſeries which awaited his impetuous valour and inconſiderate ambition.

Mary, on the death of Lewis, had beſtowed her hand on Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; Francis, who was pleaſed with a marriage which prevented the king of England from forming any powerful alliance by means of his ſiſter, reconciled Henry to Mary and her new conſort, who had early enjoyed that monarch's favour, and obtained permiſſion for them to return to England. He next beſtowed the vacant offices of conſtable and chancellor on Charles duke of Bourbon, and Anthony du Prat; and directed his whole attention to the recovery of the Milaneſe, a deſign which had been interrupted by the death of his predeceſſor.

To ſupply the funds for this expedition, Francis, by the advice of his new chancellor, not only reſtored the taxes which Lewis had aboliſhed, but expoſed the offices of the crown to ſale, and endeavoured to repleniſh his coffers by meaſures the moſt arbitrary and impolitic. He now openly avowed

avowed his claim to the duchy of Milan; nor was he induced to ſuſpend his reſolutions by the powerful confederacy formed againſt him by the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, Leo the Tenth, Sforza, and the Swiſs. The number and reſources of his enemies ſeemed only to ſtimulate his ardour; the paſſes of the Alps, which had been occupied by the Swiſs, were eluded; new roads were cut by the active perſeverance of the French; the army, after having ſurmounted every obſtacle of art and nature, entered Italy; and ſurprized Proſper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of their approach, was negligently encamped with a thouſand cavalry on the banks of the Po.

Francis, on receiving the intelligence of this ſucceſs, prepared to join his commanders; and, during his abſence, devolved the regency of France on his mother Louiſa of Savoy counteſs of Angouleſme; a princeſs, whoſe character in a great meaſure influenced the various events which diverſified the reign of her ſon. The exquiſite charms of her face and perſon were ſcarce diminiſhed by the increaſe of years; and in the acquired accompliſhments of her ſex ſhe ſhone unrivalled. Her ambition and thirſt of power were in ſome degree juſtified by her talents for government; ſhe poſſeſſed courage perſonal and political;

cal; penetration, deciſion, and a magnanimity ſuperior to adverſity. Yet theſe virtues were frequently overwhelmed by the impetuous torrent of her paſſions; and her adminiſtration was ſullied by the faults and weakneſſes of a woman. Open to vanity, and ſtill ſuſceptible of love, but implacable in her reſentments, and actuated by the moſt malign jealouſy; impatient of controul, and greedy of the national treaſures, the wiſeſt projects were diſconcerted, and the moſt important enterpriſes baffled, by her inſatiate rapacity.

The king of France, on aſſuming the command of the army, entered the Milaneſe, and preſſed forwards towards the capital. He was oppoſed by the Switzers alone, who had encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan. The ſteady valour of theſe troops had been frequently experienced; but their conſtancy was ſhaken by the alluring offer of ſeven hundred thouſand crowns. While they yet heſitated, a reinforcement of ten thouſand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the celebrated Matthew Schiener, a Swiſs himſelf, and cardinal of Sion, determined their conduct; inſpired by his eloquence, and inflamed by a kind of military enthuſiaſm, they furiouſly marched forwards to attack the lines of the French.

Hiſtory ſcarce affords any example of a battle diſ-

puted with greater obſtinacy than that of Marignano. It was began about four in the afternoon, in the month of September, and laſted more than three hours after the night cloſed. Laſſitude and darkneſs ſeparated the combatants, without abating their animoſity; the Swiſs renewed the charge in the morning with freſh vigour; but they were at length repulſed with cruel ſlaughter; ten thouſand periſhed on the field; and the reſt of their forces retired unbroken and undaunted, and ſtill formidable, although defeated. The loſs of the victors was computed at ſix thouſand men; and the intrepidity of Francis expoſed him to the moſt imminent danger. When night ſuſpended the conflict, he found himſelf intermingled with his enemies, and accompanied only by a few of his attendants. On the carriage of a cannon, completely armed, and anxious for the dawn, he ſnatched a few moments reſt; in every charge he was foremoſt; his horſe was wounded, and his body was covered with contuſions; but though his perſonal proweſs ſtood unrivalled, the victory of that day was to be aſcribed to the conſtable Charles of Bourbon, whoſe ſkill and martial genius were eminently diſplayed; and whoſe younger brother the duke de Chatelleraud fell gallantly fighting by his ſide.

The terror which the battle of Marignano in-

ſpired, together with the return of the Swiſs troops into their own country, left Maximilian Sforza almoſt deſtitute of any aſſiſtance. He yet ſought to prolong the moments of his ſovereignty by retiring into the caſtle of Milan; but that fortreſs was incapable of withſtanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was ſurrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona; but Sforza obtained at leaſt honourable conditions from the victor; and a ſafe retreat, with an ample penſion, was aſſigned him in France. Deſtitute of ambition, or of talents, he gladly retired from a ſituation to which he was unequal, and expired at laſt at Paris, after lingering for fifteen years through a life of contempt.

Leo the Tenth, verſed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned, with their fortune, the cauſe of his allies. He courted an interview with Francis; and that monarch ſuffered himſelf to be conducted by the cardinals de Fieſco and de Medicis to the city of Bologna. He was there received by the Roman pontiff, who ſoon triumphed over the conqueror of the Swiſs, by the inſinuating language of flattery; and the king of France, after adopting the future plans of Leo, haſtened to Lyons, that he might enjoy the acclamations of his ſubjects, and offer the trophies of his victory at the feet of his mother Louiſa.

Yet

Yet a more penetrating ſtateſman might have diſcerned advantages, not leſs permanent from the ſtroke of fate, than from the efforts of valour and diſcipline; and the death of Ferdinand of Arragon removed the only monarch, whoſe long experience, ſubtle arts, and numerous reſources, Francis had reaſon to dread. Ferdinand had ever conſidered his grandſon, Charles, archduke of Auſtria, rather as the rival of, than the ſucceſſor to, his throne; and his ſolicitude to have other children by his conſort Germana, ſtimulated him to conjugal exertions, which probably haſtened his deceaſe. His death united under one maſter, the Netherlands and Franche Comtè, the kingdoms of Caſtile, Arragon, and Naples, with the newly diſcovered treaſures of the weſtern world; but that maſter had ſcarce yet attained the age of ſixteen; his dominions lay diſtant and disjointed; the people he ruled over, unconnected by laws, by cuſtoms, or by language, regarded each other with the eye of jealouſy and averſion; and many of the ſtates attached to, and alarmed for their ancient rights and privileges, conſidered Charles as their moſt dangerous enemy, and Francis as their moſt natural ally. A. D. 1516.

Yet the king of France permitted the favourable moments to eſcape him; and while he foreſaw

the gathering ſtorm, neglected the meaſures by which he might probably have averted it; inſtead of attacking the infant power of his rival, he ſuffered it peaceably to attain to maturity, and truſted to the deluſive arts of negociation. Maximilian, who had broken into the Milaneſe with an army of near forty thouſand Germans, was repulſed, and compelled to retire by the inferior forces of France, commanded by the conſtable Bourbon; but the ſame ſucceſs attended not the invaſion of Navarre, a kingdom which had been wreſted by Ferdinand from the houſe of Albret; Francis, deſirous of reſtoring that family, had furniſhed the exiled monarch with troops and money; but John d'Albret was baffled by the vigilance and precautions of cardinal Ximenes, who, drawn from the cloyſter, ruled Spain with prudence, firmneſs, and ſagacity. That miniſter employed the moment of victory to diſmantle the towns and caſtles of Navarre, which ſlightly fortified, and weakly garriſoned, were unable to reſiſt an enemy; and ſerved only to furniſh him with places of retreat. The capital Pampeluna alone preſerved its walls, and was ſtrengthened with additional fortifications. To this deciſive meaſure Spain owes the poſſeſſion of Navarre; the French, ſince that period, have often entered, and over-run the open country; but

but deſtitute of ſtrong towns to retire to, they have been obliged to abandon their conqueſts, with as much rapidity as they made them.

At the deceaſe of Ferdinand, Charles, his ſucceſſor, was in Flanders; and although deſirous to take poſſeſſion of his new dominions, he was detained by powerful obſtacles in the Low Countries. The war, which had been kindled in Italy, ſtill ſubſiſted; and with his crown, Charles inherited the enterpriſes of his grandfather; but the Flemings were averſe to engage in hoſtilities with France, which might endanger the extenſive commerce they carried on; and it was only by a treaty with that kingdom, that Charles could ſecure himſelf a ſafe paſſage into Spain. Francis, on the other hand, deſtitute of allies, and ſolicitous to eſtabliſh by a peace his late conqueſts in Italy, liſtened with joy to the firſt overtures of accommodation. Commiſſioners were appointed, and a few days after their opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs.

The principal articles which compoſed this treaty were, that Francis ſhould give in marriage to Charles his eldeſt daughter the princeſs Louiſa, an infant of a year old, and as her dowry, ſhould make over to him all his claims and pretenſions

upon the kingdom of Naples; that, in conſideration of Charles's being already in poſſeſſion of Naples, he ſhould, until the accompliſhment of the marriage, pay an hundred thouſand crowns a year to the king of France; and the half of that ſum annually as long as the princeſs had no children. That when Charles ſhould arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre, for John d'Albret had expired of chagrin, might repreſent to him their right to that kingdom; and if they obtained not ſatisfaction, Francis was left at liberty to aſſiſt them with his forces.

A. D. 1517. Such were the conditions of the
1518. peace of Noyon; too favourable to France for her king to expect that they would be long obſerved. Yet they afforded a tranſient tranquillity to the ſubjects of theſe rival monarchs; and the acceſſion of Maximilian to the treaty, huſhed the tempeſt of war which had ſo long agitated Europe. The ſatisfaction which the king derived from the late convention was increaſed by the birth of a dauphin; and the liberality of Francis ſoon gained to his intereſts Wolſey, the miniſter of Henry of England. By the influence of his favourite, that monarch was prevailed on to reſtore Tournay, which he had lately conquered from France; but to render the meaſure more palatable to the Engliſh, it was agreed that the

dauphin

dauphin and the princeſs Mary, both of them infants, ſhould be betrothed; that this city ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of the princeſs, and that Francis ſhould pay ſix hundred thouſand crowns for the expences that Henry had been at in repairing the fortifications.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the king of France extended his views to the recovery of Calais; and it is generally believed that this propoſal, extravagant as it was, met with a favourable reception from Wolſey; but though the miniſter ventured to ſuggeſt the meaſure to an obſequious council, he found the people too ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt relinquiſhing the only trophy of their former victories; he himſelf ſoon afterwards gradually declined from the intereſts of Francis: greedy of wealth and open to flattery, the ſame arts as had inclined him to the French monarch, were ſucceſsfully practiſed by his rival Charles; and the king of England, naturally ſtubborn and imperious, yielded to the aſcendancy which his favourite had acquired, and veered with every caprice of the ambitious cardinal.

The ſhort calm which Europe had enjoyed, was ſoon interrupted by an event of little moment in itſelf, but rendered by its conſequences more memorable than any that had happened during ſeveral ages. The emperor A. D. 1519.

Maximilian, a prince equally deſtitute of virtues and abilities, expired at Lintz upon the Danube, while he was employed in attempts to gain the electoral ſuffrages for his grandſon's nomination as king of the Romans. The ſeven great princes, diſtinguiſhed by the name of electors, in whom the right of chuſing an emperor had long been veſted, turned their eyes towards Frederic duke of Saxony, a prince whoſe prudent adminiſtration had acquired him the name of *Sage*; but Frederic rejected the ſplendid dignity with magnanimity and diſintereſtedneſs. He urged the neceſſity, at a period when the Turkiſh armies, led by the victorious Selim the Second, were ready to deluge Germany with their rapacious myriads, of committing the imperial ſceptre to a more powerful arm; and of raiſing to the throne a prince capable of reſiſting the impetuous torrent of the Infidels which threatened to overwhelm them.

Two competitors alone preſented themſelves as equal to the public emergency, Francis and Charles. The former already renowned for his triumph over the Swiſs in the battle of Marignano; the latter ſtrongly recommended by the contiguity of his dominions, and by his German extraction. They had both profeſſed, from the beginning, to carry on their rivalſhip with emu-

lation,

lation, but without enmity; and Francis, with the vivacity natural to him, declared, "We are "both ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs; the more "fortunate will carry her, but the other muſt "remain contented;" yet neither neglected any meaſure that was likely to enſure ſucceſs. Money was ſcattered with a profuſion unknown before; and the French ambaſſadors travelled with a train of horſes loaded with treaſure. The partiality of the Germans to the houſe of Auſtria, with the voice of Frederic of Saxony, decided the important conteſt; Charles was raiſed to the imperial dignity; and Francis, after exhauſting his coffers, had the mortification of beholding a young and inexperienced prince preferred to the conqueror of Milan.

Leo the Tenth had obſerved, with a ſolicitude worthy of his penetration, the pretenſions of the contending monarchs, and jealous of each had ſecretly, though ineffectually, exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number on the imperial throne. Henry of England, after vainly declaring himſelf a candidate, had withdrawn from the hopeleſs conteſt, and maintained a ſullen neutrality during the important competition. But Francis, alarmed at the augmented ſplendour and power of Charles, and inflamed with indignation which he could no A. D. 1520.

longer

longer ſuppreſs, endeavoured, by a ſtrict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquiſitions of his rival. Well acquainted with Henry's character, he ſolicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar converſation, to gain upon his friendſhip and confidence. Henry, fond of pomp and magnificence, chearfully agreed to the propoſal; but while he prepared to croſs the ſeas, he was ſurpriſed by the arrival of the emperor at Dover. Charles, informed of the intended interview, endeavoured to diſappoint its effects, and previouſly to engage the favour of the Engliſh monarch; in his paſſage from Spain to the Low Countries, he ſteered directly for England; Henry haſtened to receive with every mark of reſpect, a gueſt who had ſhewn ſo implicit a reliance on his honour. The emperor, to whom time was precious, ſtaid only four days; but in that ſpace he contrived to give the king of England favourable impreſſions of his character and intentions, and to attach to his intereſts Wolſey, by gratifying his avarice with a penſion of ſeven thouſand ducats, and by flattering the ambitious cardinal with the hopes of the papacy on the death of Leo the Tenth.

On the day of Charles's departure, Henry embarked with the queen and his whole court for Calais, and thence proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall

town near the frontiers; while Francis, with a ſimilar train, advanced to Ardres, only a few miles diſtant, and within the Engliſh pale. The magnificence which was diſplayed by two princes equally ſplendid, profuſe, and vain, made the ſpot on which they met retain the name of "The "Field of the Cloth of Gold." Banquets, balls, and tournaments, were ſucceſſively exhibited. The kings themſelves, expert and vigorous, bore away in every martial exerciſe the prize of valour and dexterity. But ſerious buſineſs was not permitted to obtrude upon hours devoted to entertainment; for ten or twelve days this ſcene of royal diſſipation was aſſiduouſly purſued; at length the monarchs ſeparated; and Francis might regret a ſum laviſhed in this fruitleſs pageantry, greater than what Charles had diſtributed to acquire the imperial crown; who by a ſecond interview with the king of England engaged the confidence of Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and liberal nature of his rival had given birth.

While the king of France laboured to conciliate the regard of Henry, he was not inattentive in courting the ſupport of the Roman pontiff. Though the ſagacity of Leo the Tenth enabled him to diſcern his true intereſt in preſerving the tranquillity of Italy, and the balance of power as it

it was at length eſtabliſhed; yet the prudent neutrality which he ought to have obſerved, was loſt in the indignation with which he beheld the tranſalpine nations preſcribe laws to the Italian ſtates, and in his impatience to diſtinguiſh his pontificate by ſome ſplendid action. He vainly flattered himſelf with the idea of alternately aſſiſting each monarch, of finally expelling both, and of acquiring the glory of reſtoring to Italy the liberty and happineſs it enjoyed before the invaſion of Charles the Eighth. By the German conſtitution, the kings of Naples were for ever excluded from the imperial dignity. Charles by his election was declared to have forfeited his right to Naples; and Leo, in the proſecution of his deſign, undertook to beſtow the inveſtiture of that kingdom on Henry, the ſecond ſon of Francis, with whom he contracted a ſtrict though ſecret alliance.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had bound himſelf to do juſtice to the family of Albret, which claimed the kingdom of Navarre; but the emperor had received with coldneſs and eluded every application of that nature; and Francis now prepared to reſtore by arms the exiled family. The juncture appeared favourable to ſuch an enterpriſe. Charles had recalled his forces from that part of the kingdom

A. D. 1521.

kingdom to quell the commotions which had ariſen in Spain, and a conſiderable faction in Navarre was ready to declare for the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs. To avoid giving offence, if poſſible, to the emperor or the king of England, Francis levied the forces for this expedition in the name of Henry d'Albret, and entruſted them to Andrew de Foix, a young man without experience or talents, but who was preferred to the command by the influence of his ſiſter, the counteſs of Chateau-Briant, the favourite miſtreſs of the king. The kingdom of Navarre received the invaders with open arms; the fortifications of Pampeluna were yet unfiniſhed, and a French garriſon was admitted within the walls. But Andrew de Foix, inſtead of ſecuring his conqueſt, was precipitated by his ardour in ſearch of new acquiſitions. With the conſent of Francis he paſſed the confines of Navarre, and inveſted Logrogno, a ſmall town in Caſtile. The Caſtilians, who had hitherto beheld his progreſs without jealouſy or oppoſition, were rouſed by this national inſult. Their domeſtic diſſentions were extinguiſhed by the appearance of a foreign enemy; and the French general was compelled to abandon his raſh enterpriſe with diſgrace. He was purſued by the increaſing forces of the Spaniards; and inſtead of taking ſhelter under the

cannon

cannon of Pampeluna, and waiting the arrival of ſome troops that were marching to join him, he hazarded a deciſive action with a ſuperior enemy. His army was defeated, he himſelf was taken priſoner, and Navarre by this victory was again reſtored to the authority of Charles.

The invaſion of Navarre had been carried on in the name of Henry d'Albret; and Francis, in attacking another part of his rival's dominions, had recourſe to an artifice much of the ſame kind. He encouraged Robert de la Mark, lord of Bouillon, who had abandoned the ſervice of Charles on account of an encroachment made on his juriſdiction, to declare war againſt the emperor in form. Robert entered Luxembourg with troops levied in France with the king's connivance, though ſeemingly in contradiction to his orders. Charles complained of this as a direct violation of the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and ſummoned Henry the Eighth to turn his arms againſt Francis as the firſt aggreſſor. The French monarch, ſtill deſirous of conciliating the inclinations of the king of England, commanded de la Mark to diſband his troops; but the emperor had by this time aſſembled an army to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Robert; the count of Naſſau, with twenty thouſand men, invaded his territories, and ſoon diſpoſſeſſed him

of

of every place except Sedan. Naſſau, by the approbation of his maſter, and encouraged by his ſucceſs, paſſed the frontiers of France, and inveſted Mouſſon, which ſoon ſurrendered; he next pointed his arms againſt Mezieres; but that fortreſs was defended by the chevalier Bayard, diſtinguiſhed among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without Fear and without Reproach.* This hero exerted the talents which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him, in the ſiege of Mezieres; and the imperialiſts were compelled by his valour and conduct to abandon the ſiege with a conſiderable loſs.

During theſe hoſtile operations, Francis himſelf had nearly fallen the victim of a ſingular accident. The martial manners of the age characteriſed every diverſion; and the king, with a ſmall band of gentlemen, attacked with ſnow-balls, and weapons of that nature, the houſe of the count de St. Pol, who defended it with another party. A torch from the hand of one of the defendants unfortunately ſtruck Francis on the head, and wounded him ſeverely. His life was long deſpaired of; and during the cure of the wound, as it became neceſſary to cut off his hair, he never would ſuffer it to grow again, but introduced the faſhion of wearing it ſhort. Even on this occaſion, the magnanimity of his mind was conſpicuouſly

ſpicuouſly diſplayed; nor would he ever permit any attempt to be made to diſcover the perſon who had wounded him.

On his recovery, Francis immediately took the field with a numerous army, retook Mouſſon, and ſpread through the Low Countries the terror of his arms. Near Valenciennes, on the banks of the Scheld, he faced the imperialiſts headed by Charles himſelf. The latter, deſirous of avoiding an engagement, endeavoured to retreat under cover of a thick fog; the conſtable Bourbon ſaw the favourable opportunity, and intreated his ſovereign to avail himſelf of it; but the king, who never loved that nobleman, and was influenced by the reſentment which his mother Louiſa had conceived againſt him, rejected his advice. To neglect he added inſult, and beſtowed the command of the van, which belonged to Bourbon in right of his office of conſtable, on Charles duke of Alençon, firſt prince of the blood. Thus to his paſſions and prejudices Francis ſacrificed the opportunity of advantageouſly engaging his rival in perſon, and firſt diſguſted a ſubject whoſe ſteady courage and military ſkill were equal to the moſt ſplendid and arduous atchievements.

Under the auſpices of Henry the Eighth, the negociations for peace were again reſumed, and

again

again abandoned; while Charles inveſted and reduced Tournay; and Bonnivet, admiral of France, and the acknowledged favourite of his maſter, invaded Navarre, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Fontarabia. But the emperor found a compenſation for this loſs in his intrigues with the king of England and the Roman pontiff; Henry agreed to invade France on the ſide of Picardy with forty thouſand men, and to beſtow on Charles his only child the princeſs Mary, the apparent heir of his dominions, while Leo, enticed by the advantages which the emperor offered, readily quitted his alliance with Francis, and concluded a new treaty with his rival. The principal articles were, that the pope and emperor ſhould join their forces to expel the French out of the Milaneſe, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould be granted to Franciſco Sforza, the ſon of Ludovico the Moor, who had reſided at Trent ſince the time his brother Maximilian had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by Francis; that Parma and Placentia, which had been wreſted from, ſhould be reſtored to, the church; and that the emperor ſhould aſſiſt the pope in conquering Ferrara.

The government of Milan had been committed by Francis, to Odet de Foix, mareſchal de Lautrec, another brother of the counteſs de Chateau-Briant. Though by no means deſtitute

of military talents, his imperious manners and rapacious diſpoſition alienated the affections of the Milaneſe, drove many of the conſiderable citizens into baniſhment, and forced others to retire for their own ſafety. Among the laſt was Jerome Moronè, vice-chancellor of Milan, celebrated for his intriguing ſpirit and ſubtle genius. He repaired inſtantly to Francis Sforza, whoſe brother he had betrayed; and penetrating into the ſecret intentions of Leo, propoſed to the pontiff in the name of Sforza, to ſurpriſe ſeveral places in the Milaneſe by means of the exiles. Leo approved the deſign, and permitted the conſpirators to aſſemble at Reggio, which at that time belonged to the church; mareſchal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in the abſence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their reſort, entered the eccleſiaſtical territories, and inveſted Reggio; he was compelled to retire by the vigilance and conduct of the governor, the hiſtorian Guicciardini, and Leo readily ſeized the pretence of publickly breaking with France, and excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

The king of France, apprized of the ſtorm which threatened his Italian dominions, commanded Lautrec to repair to his government, with the aſſurance that he ſhould be ſupplied with

with troops and money. The forces of France were either employed in the Low Countries, or aſſembling on the frontiers of Spain; and his only reſource was in the Swiſs, from whom he procured the immediate levy of an additional body. But the money appropriated for their ſupport was intercepted by the rapacity of Louiſa, who had conceived an inveterate diſlike to Lautrec; twelve thouſand Swiſs, fatigued with a long and fruitleſs campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, retired from the ſtandard of France; Milan was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy followed the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; the town of Cremona, with the caſtle of Milan, and a few inconſiderable forts only remained in the hands of the French; and Lautrec, with the ſhattered remnant of his army, precipitately retreated towards the Venetian territories.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid ſucceſs with ſuch tranſports of joy as brought on a fever, and occaſioned his death. By this unexpected accident the ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended; the Swiſs were recalled by the Cantons; the mercenaries diſbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's

ſervice, remained to defend the Milaneſe; but Lautrec himſelf, equally deſtitute of men and money, was unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522. The intrigues of the conclave were terminated by the election of cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the emperor's name, and was conſequently attached to his intereſt. The war in the Milaneſe was reſumed with freſh vigour. Lautrec had received from the king a ſmall ſum of money, which enabled him once more to take the field; the Swiſs, as a reparation to the French king for having unſeaſonably withdrawn their troops from his army, had permitted him to levy ten thouſand men in the republic; but the caprice of this people was often no leſs fatal to their friends, than their valour was formidable to their enemies. Their ſeditious murmurs compelled Lautrec to attack the camp of the confederates, advantageouſly choſen at Bicocca; in vain did that officer remonſtrate againſt the raſh enterpriſe; the Swiſs were deaf to reaſon, and renewed their demand with greater fierceneſs; Lautrec was reduced to comply; but after an ineffectual diſplay of valour, and the loſs of their braveſt companions, the Swiſs abandoned the hopeleſs attempt. The ſurvivors next day

day returned to their own country; the French ſought ſhelter in their own territories; and, except the citadel of Cremona, the reſt of the Milaneſe, by the arms of Colonna, the general of the confederates, was reſtored to the authority of Franciſco Sforza.

The indignation of Francis at beholding himſelf thus deſpoiled of his Italian dominions, firſt burſt on the head of Lautrec; that general exculpated himſelf at the expence of Sembleneai, ſuperintendant of the finances, who had with-held, at the command of Louiſa, the promiſed ſupplies; but the counteſs of Angouleſme, unawed by the baſeneſs and inhumanity of her conduct, heſitated not to diſavow the iniquitous tranſaction; and the innocent and unfortunate Sembleneai, who had grown grey in the ſervice of four ſucceſſive monarchs, periſhed the victim of his ſovereign's reſentment.

Francis had need of all his magnanimity to oppoſe the tempeſt which aſſailed him on every ſide. Genoa again threw off the yoke, expelled the adherents of France, and opened her gates to the imperial army. Henry of England openly declared war; and his forces, commanded by the earl of Surrey, landed at Cherbourg in Normandy, ravaged the coaſts of that province, and having effected a junction with the Flemiſh

troops, entered Picardy. But the French, though inferior in numbers, baffled by a prudent ſyſtem of defence, the deſigns of their adverſaries; and Surrey, after ſeveral unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, was obliged to retire with his haraſſed forces.

The Spaniards, though engaged in domeſtic diſſentions, had diverted a part of their force to the recovery of Fontarabia; that city was however relieved by the mareſchal de Chabannes; but the ſatisfaction which Francis might derive from this event, was more than balanced by the confederacy of his enemies and the deſertion of his allies; even the Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to him with firmneſs, now believed his deſtruction inevitable, and formed a league with the emperor. Their example was followed by the other Italian ſtates, and the king of France was left alone to repel his numerous adverſaries, whoſe territories encompaſſed his dominions on every ſide. Yet rouſed by the approach of danger, he prepared to encounter it with ſpirit and intrepidity; before his enemies were ready to execute their ſchemes, he had already aſſembled a formidable army, and determined to diſconcert the deſigns of the emperor, by marching in perſon into the Milaneſe.

A. D. 1523. The vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himſelf was

was haſtening after it, when his intentions were ſuſpended, and his meaſures broken by the intelligence of domeſtic conſpiracy. Charles duke of Bourbon, and conſtable of France, from his birth, fortune, and office, might juſtly be conſidered as the moſt powerful ſubject in that kingdom. He had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Marignano, and his thirſt of glory, and ſkill in martial exerciſes, might naturally have recommended him to the favour of a monarch renowned for ſimilar qualities; but unhappily Louiſa, the king's mother, had contracted a violent averſion to the houſe of Bourbon; her prejudices ſhe had communicated to her ſon; the duke of Bourbon had been injuriouſly removed from the government of Milan; his counſels on the banks of the Scheld had been contumeliouſly rejected; and a public affront was offered to him in the preſence of the whole army, by depriving him of the command of the vanguard. Theſe repeated indignities had exhauſted his patience; he had already entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor; when a new and more ſevere injury inflamed his thirſt of revenge, and for ever eſtranged him from his allegiance to Francis.

Bourbon about this time became a widower by the death of his conſort, daughter to the famous

ady of Beaujeu. Louiſa, without regarding the diſparity of age, forgot her former enmity in the violent affection which ſhe conceived for the perſon of that prince; but Bourbon rejected her advances with contempt; and the love of the counteſs was again converted into implacable hatred. Aſſiſted by Bonnivet, who was ambitious to ſucceed him as conſtable, and by du Prat, the moſt corrupt miniſter that ever held the ſeals, her perſecution became but too ſucceſsful. A lawſuit was commenced againſt him for the eſtates that he held in right of his deceaſed wife; and by a ſentence deſtitute even of the appearance of equity, he was deſpoiled of the greateſt part of his fortune.

Bourbon, reduced by this unjuſt deciſion to deſpair, renewed his intrigues in the imperial court. Charles and Henry gladly embraced his alliance, and ſpared no allurements to confirm him in his reſolution. The former offered him in marriage his ſiſter Eleanor, the widow of the king of Portugal; he was conſidered as a principal in the treaty of the two monarchs: and on the conqueſt of France, which they had planned, the counties of Provence and Dauphinè were aſſigned to him with the title of king. The emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees; and Henry, ſupported by the Flemings, was to in-

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vade Picardy; while Bourbon was to penetrate with an army of Germans into Burgundy, and to act with his adherents in the heart of the kingdom. The plot was deeply laid; and the execution of it was alone ſuſpended until the king ſhould croſs the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had already reached the ear of Francis; his ſuſpicions were lulled awhile by the arts of the conſtable; but by the indiſcretion of two of the conſpirators, the king was awakened to the certainty of his danger; he immediately determined to ſecure the perſon of Bourbon, who, apprized of his intentions, ſuddenly croſſed the Rhone in diſguiſe, eluded the parties ſent out to intercept him, and after infinite fatigues and perils, reached Italy in ſafety.

Though Francis took every precaution to extinguiſh the ſparks of revolt, and garriſoned the places of ſtrength in the conſtable's territories, yet he made not any particular enquiries after the accomplices of his deſigns. His own irregularities about this time proved fatal to the life of his conſort Claude, an amiable princeſs, who bore with reſignation the neglect of her huſband, and with meekneſs the authority uſurped by the counteſs of Angouleſme; A.D. 1524.

Francis

Francis himſelf, though he relinquiſhed his intention of leading in perſon his army into Italy, did not abandon that expedition, but entruſted the conduct of it to the admiral Bonnivet.

That nobleman engroſſed the favour and patronage of his royal maſter, whom in many points he reſembled. Handſome in his perſon, gallant, and amorous, he was peculiarly acceptable to the counteſs of Angouleſme, under whoſe protection he roſe; but vain, arrogant, and preſumptuous, though ambitious of the character of a general, of all the talents requiſite for command he poſſeſſed only the loweſt and moſt common, perſonal courage. Colonna, who was entruſted with the defence of the Milaneſe, was compelled to retire before the ſuperior forces of France; the ſtream of the Teſino oppoſed an ineffectual obſtacle to Bonnivet; the greateſt part of the duchy ſubmitted to his arms; had he improved the general conſternation, Milan itſelf muſt have ſurrendered; but a delay of three or four days reſtored the courage of the citizens; and after a vain attempt on the capital, the inclemency of the ſeaſon induced Bonnivet to retire into winter quarters.

In Burgundy and Guienne, the Germans and Spaniards were repulſed by the duke of Guiſe and the mareſchal Lautrec; in Picardy indeed the Engliſh extended their devaſtations along the defenceleſs

fenceleſs banks of the Oyſe, penetrated within eleven leagues of Calais, and filled the capital with terror; but their career was checked by the gallantry of the duke of Vendoſme; they were continually haraſſed by the vigilance of the mareſchal la Tremouille; and they were at length purſued with diſgrace out of the French territories.

During theſe operations pope Adrian had expired, and the hopes of Wolſey were blaſted by the elevation of the cardinal de Medici, under the name of Clement the Seventh, to the papal dignity; the favourite of Henry now diſcerned how egregiouſly he had been duped by the promiſes of the emperor; and he ſecretly reſolved once more to divert the inclinations of his maſter towards Francis. That monarch had diſcovered and diſconcerted a dangerous conſpiracy; he had driven the author of it into exile; he had baffled the ſchemes of the powerful confederacy formed againſt him, and had recovered one half of the duchy of Milan; but the enſuing campaign opened with more diſaſterous events. Fontarabia was ſurrendered by the treachery and cowardice of Franget, its governor. A numerous army of the allies threatened that part of the Milaneſe which had lately been reduced by the French. Bonnivet, whoſe forces had been weakened

ened by a peſtilential diſorder, was unable to contend with the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, and ſtill leſs with the ſuperior talents of Bourbon, the marquis of Peſcara, and Lannoy viceroy of Naples. Theſe celebrated leaders compelled the admiral to abandon his ſtrong camp at Biagraſſa, and preſſed on his rear with inceſſant diligence; in the paſſage of the river Seſſia, while he exerted himſelf with conſpicuous valour, he received a wound in his arm which obliged him to quit the field; he committed the important charge, which he reluctantly deſerted, to the chevalier Bayard. That officer animated the cavalry by his example and his preſence, to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the enemy's troops, while the infantry ſecurely croſſed the river; but in this ſervice Bayard received a wound, which he immediately perceived to be mortal. Incapable any longer of ſitting on horſeback, he was placed on the ground, with his face towards the enemy, and his eyes fixed on the guard of his ſword, which he held up inſtead of a croſs. In this poſture, which became him as a ſoldier and a chriſtian, he addreſſed his prayers to God, and univerſally regretted by his countrymen and his foes, he expired, as his anceſtors for ſeveral generations had done, in the field of battle.

Bonnivet led back his ſhattered army into France,

France, whoſe monarch was immediately ſtripped of all that he had held in Italy. The victors, encouraged by their ſucceſs, determined to invade the country of Provence. Bourbon, at the head of eighteen thouſand men, paſſed the Alps without oppoſition; but his deſign of penetrating into the interior provinces, and effecting a junction with his remaining adherents, was over-ruled by the authority of Charles, who directed him to make the reduction of Marſeilles his chief object. That city was obſtinately defended by a veteran garriſon; the king of France himſelf advanced with a ſuperior force to the relief of it; and Bourbon, after having conſumed forty days in the vain enterpriſe, retired with precipitation towards Italy.

The glory which Francis had acquired in delivering his ſubjects from this formidable invaſion, might have ſatisfied a moderate mind; but that prince, naturally ſanguine and impetuous, aſpired to the conqueſt of the Milaneſe. His love of fame was ſeconded by a leſs noble paſſion; and Bonnivet is ſuppoſed to have inflamed the deſires of his ſovereign by his deſcription of a beautiful lady of Milan. In vain did the oldeſt generals attempt to diſſuade their maſter; in vain did the counteſs of Angouleſme conjure him to ſtop; Francis was deaf to the counſels of the former;

former; and to elude the remonſtrances of the latter, after appointing her regent in his abſence, he began his march acroſs the Alps.

Francis, with an army of forty thouſand men, entered, and ſpread terror through the Milaneſe; the gates of the capital were immediately opened to him, and Bourbon himſelf ſcarce outſtripped his purſuit with the remnant of his flying forces. Had the king inſtantly attacked the enemy, who had retired to Lodi on the Adda, that day might have extinguiſhed the dominion of Charles in Italy; but in compliance with the opinion of Bonnivet, he laid ſiege to Pavia on the Teſino, a place ſtrong in its fortifications, and garriſoned by ſix thouſand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer equally diſtinguiſhed by his patient courage and enterprizing ſpirit.

The ſucceſs of the king of France induced Clement the Seventh to deſert the cauſe of Charles, and court the alliance of his adverſary; the example of the pope was followed by the republic of Florence; and the king, inflated by proſperity, detached ſix thouſand men to ravage the kingdom of Naples; but neither this diverſion, nor the inclemency of the ſeaſon, prevented him from inceſſantly preſſing the ſiege of Pavia. Three months of conſtant fatigue had reduced the garriſon to the laſt extremity, when they diſcerned the

welcome

welcome banners of the imperialiſts preſſing forwards to their relief.

The zeal of Bourbon had brought twelve thouſand Germans to the aſſiſtance of Lannoy and Peſcara; yet Francis, patiently in his entrenchments, might have defied the fury of his adverſaries; but the raſh counſels of Bonnivet ſtimulated him to the fatal encounter. Part of the left wing, under the command of the duke of Alençon, baſely deſerted their ſovereign; the garriſon of Pavia ſallied out on his rear; the French cavalry was broken by the imperial horſe; the route became general; and reſiſtance ceaſed almoſt in every part but where the king fought in perſon. Though wounded in ſeveral places, and thrown from his horſe, he ſtill defended himſelf with the moſt heroic courage; and ſix of his aſſailants periſhed by his arm. At length, exhauſted with fatigue, he delivered his ſword to Lannoy, who received it with reſpect, and preſented to him his own; but though that general treated his royal captive with every mark of honour due to his rank, he was equally ſolicitous to prevent his eſcape; and conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzhigintonè, near Cremona, where he was committed to the cuſtody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, an officer of ſevere vigilance and incorruptible integrity. A.D. 1525.

Chapter the Twenty-fourth.

IMPRISONMENT OF FRANCIS—HIS RELEASE BY THE TREATY OF MADRID—VIOLATION OF THAT TREATY—WAR BETWEEN FRANCIS AND THE EMPEROR—REVOLT OF DORIA, AND DEATH OF LAUTREC—PEACE OF CAMBRAY—MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO CATHERINE OF MEDICIS—WAR RENEWED—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN—TRUCE OF NICE—PASSAGE OF THE EMPEROR THROUGH FRANCE—WAR DECLARED AGAIN—FINAL PEACE AT ESPERNAY—DEATH OF FRANCIS.

A. D. 1525. BY the defeat of Pavia, France was left without a ſovereign, without treaſures, and without an army. Ten thouſand of her braveſt ſoldiers had periſhed on the bloody field; and the moſt illuſtrious of her nobility had ſacrificed their lives to preſerve their honour. Among theſe, the leaſt regretted was Bonnivet.

His

His fatal counſels had precipitated the national calamity; his haughty mind ſcorned to ſurvive the public diſaſter; and ruſhing into the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, he fell covered with honourable wounds.

The firſt intelligence of the rout at Pavia was tranſmitted by the king himſelf to his mother, in a letter, which contained theſe words: "Ma-"dam, all is loſt, except our honour." The paſſions of Louiſa had endangered the kingdom, but her abilities were exerted to ſave it. In this trying hour, her magnanimity never deſerted her; and inſtead of giving herſelf up to the lamentations of a woman, ſhe diſcovered all the foreſight and ſkill of a conſummate politician. She aſſembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example and language; ſhe collected the remains of the army which had ſerved in Italy, and enabled it again to take the field; ſhe levied new troops, and raiſed extraordinary ſums to defray the expence of them; but her chief care was directed to conciliate the friendſhip, and to obtain the protection of the king of England.

Henry beheld with concern the balance of power, which he had affected to maintain, deſtroyed by the diſaſtrous field of Pavia; and his miniſter, Wolſey, remembered with indignation the vain promiſes of the papacy with which

Charles had deluded him. The former trembled for the independence of all Europe, menaced by the riſing greatneſs of an ambitious prince; and he liſtened with a mixture of admiration and pity to the gallantry of the unfortunate Francis. He ſecretly aſſured Louiſa of his ſupport, and compelled her to promiſe that ſhe would not diſmember the kingdom, even to procure her ſon's liberty; but to the emperor he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come of extinguiſhing the monarchy of France. He offered to invade Guienne with a powerful army; and he demanded that Francis ſhould be delivered to him, in conſequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to ſurrender all uſurpers to him whoſe rights they had invaded. Theſe extravagant propoſals were received by the emperor with the coldneſs that was expected; and his rejecting them, afforded the king of England ſoon after a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Meanwhile in Italy the imperial generals were ſcarce leſs embaraſſed than the foes they had vanquiſhed; Milan was indeed entirely evacuated by the French; but Lannoy, for want of money, was obliged to diſmiſs the greateſt part of his army. Charles himſelf, inſtead of making one great ef-

fort

ſort to penetrate into France, deſcended to the arts of intrigue and negociation. He ordered the count de Rouex to viſit his royal captive, and to propoſe the following conditions as the price of his liberty. That he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the emperor, from whoſe anceſtors it had been wreſted; that he ſhould ſurrender Provence and Dauphiné, to form a kingdom for Bourbon; that he ſhould ſatisfy the claims of the king of England, and finally renounce all pretenſions to any territory in Italy. When Francis heard theſe rigorous propoſals, he was ſo tranſported with indignation, that drawing his dagger haſtily, he exclaimed, "'twere better that a king ſhould die "thus!" Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though he ſoon recovered greater compoſure, he ſtill declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather remain a priſoner through life, than purchaſe liberty by ſuch ignominious conceſſions.

But Lannoy, deſirous of conveying his captive ſafe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a perſonal interview with the emperor would haſten his deliverance on more equitable terms; and the French king, eager on a ſcheme which ſeemed to open ſome proſpect of liberty, furniſhed the gallies neceſſary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral Doria to ſuffer them to

paſs without oppoſition. Bourbon and Peſcara were deceived by the pretence, that Lannoy meant to tranſport his priſoner to the caſtle of Naples; and the latter officer, embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed in a few days at Barcelona. Francis was thence conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar under the care of the vigilant Alarcon.

But inſtead of the interview with which he had been flattered, the king of France found himſelf in a ſolitary priſon, and guarded with unremitting attention; the only recreation that was permitted him, was to take the air on a mule, ſurrounded by ſoldiers. The continuance of this harſh treatment for ſix months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, terrified leſt death might deprive him of the advantages which he expected to derive from his releaſe, condeſcended to make him a conſolatory viſit, and to animate him with the hopes of ſpeedy freedom. Theſe fallacious expectations vaniſhed with the king's return of health; and Francis in deſpair entruſted to his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, a deed, by which he reſigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

A. D. 1526. The dread of ſuch a meaſure, and the confederacy which he beheld forming againſt him, at length influenced the emperor ſeriouſly to treat with him. The death of

the marquis of Peſcara, already had allowed Charles to ſatisfy the claims of Bourbon, by appointing him to the command in Italy, together with the duchy of Milan, forfeited by Sforza; and the ſubſequent treaty ſubſcribed at Madrid reſtored liberty to Francis. In reſpect to the principal article which regarded Burgundy, the French king engaged to reſtore that country to the emperor in full ſovereignty; and Charles conſented that this reſtitution ſhould not be made, until the king was ſet at liberty; in order to ſecure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions, Francis agreed that at the ſame inſtant he himſelf was releaſed, he would deliver, as hoſtages, his eldeſt ſon the dauphin, his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of his principal nobility to be named by the emperor. By the other articles, the king of France renounced all pretenſions in Italy; diſclaimed any title to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; promiſed full reparation for the damages ſuſtained by Bourbon, or his adherents; and engaged to uſe his intereſt with Henry d'Albret to abandon his claim on Navarre. In corroboration of this union, Francis was to marry the emperor's ſiſter, the queen dowager of Portugal; and to cauſe all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the ſtates, and regiſtered in the parliaments of his

kingdom; that upon the emperor's receiving this ratification, the hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty; but in their place the duke of Angouleſme, the king's third ſon, ſhould be delivered to Charles to be educated at the imperial court; and that if Francis did not fulfil the ſtipulations within the time limited, he ſhould engage, upon his honour and oath, to return into Spain, and to ſurrender himſelf again a priſoner to the emperor.

Such was the tenor of the celebrated treaty of Madrid, by which the emperor flattered himſelf that he had effectually diſarmed his rival; but his miniſters had already repreſented how improbable it was that Francis would execute articles, which he had ſubſcribed with ſo much reluctance; and the French monarch, while yet at Madrid, aſſembled the few counſellors that he could confide in; and after exacting from them a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy, he formally proteſted that his conſent to the treaty ſhould be conſidered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void.

Yet both monarchs, amidſt their mutual ſuſpicions, maintained the appearance of cordiality; the ceremonies of the marriage between Francis and the queen of Portugal were performed; but Charles would not permit the conſummation, until the return of the ratification from France. As ſoon as that arrived, Francis was conducted to

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the river Bidaſſoa, near Fontarabia. On the oppoſite bank were the dauphin Francis, and his brother Henry duke of Orleans, who were to be delivered up as hoſtages for the due execution of the treaty. The exchange was immediately made; Francis, after a ſhort embrace to his children, leaped into the boat provided, and reached the French ſhore; he mounted that inſtant a Turkiſh horſe, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice, crying aloud ſeveral times, "I am "yet a king," galloped full ſpeed to Saint John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne.

The firſt care of the French king, on his return to his dominions, was to acknowledge his gratitude to Henry of England; his next to diſavow that article by which Burgundy was to be ceded. In the preſence of Lannoy and Alarcon, the ambaſſadors of Charles, the deputies from that duchy repreſented that no king could alienate their country from the crown; and Francis, affecting to be convinced by their arguments, offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the emperor two millions of crowns. This propoſal was rejected; and Francis prepared to extort the acquieſcence of his rival by the force of arms.

He had already ſilently negociated a confederacy, which promiſed to ſet bounds to the ambition of the emperor. The pope, the Venetians,

and the duke of Milan, alarmed at the progreſs of Charles, had readily acceded to it. The king of England was declared protector of this league, which was dignified by the name of *Holy*; and Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, abſolved his new ally, Francis, from the oath which he had taken to obſerve the treaty of Madrid.

A. D. 1527. But Sforza duke of Milan was already beſieged in the caſtle of his capital; and before the duke d'Urbino, the general of the confederates, could advance to his relief, he was compelled to ſurrender to the arms of Bourbon, who was left in full poſſeſſion of the duchy, the inveſtiture of which the emperor had promiſed to grant him; but the Milaneſe was exhauſted by the inceſſant wars to which it had been ſubject; and Bourbon, to ſatisfy the murmurs of his diſcontented ſoldiers, took the daring reſolution of marching to Rome. The greatneſs of his abilities was diſplayed in the execution of this deſign; in the depth of winter he began his march with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, without money, without magazines, and without artillery; in the face of a ſuperior enemy, he traverſed mountains and rivers, and braved the inclemency of the ſeaſon. He at length encamped under the walls of the devoted city;

but

but in the moment of victory he fell by a random ſhot, and expired with the courage which had characterized his life; yet his victorious army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, entered and pillaged the ancient miſtreſs of the world. Clement, who had retired to the caſtle of St. Angelo, was forced to capitulate, and remained a priſoner in the hands of the emperor; Rome itſelf, abandoned to the rapacity and violence of the conquerors, became a theatre of carnage and univerſal deſolation.

The enterprize of Bourbon againſt Rome, drained the Milaneſe of the imperial forces, and left it expoſed to the arms of France. Francis, who had hitherto ſuffered his allies to act alone, and patiently waited the effect of negociation, now aſſembled a powerful army, and appointed to the command of it the mareſchal Lautrec. All Europe had heard with aſtoniſhment and horror the cruel treatment of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter by a chriſtian emperor. The Italian ſtates received Lautrec with open arms; he inſtantly occupied Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. Pavia was taken by aſſault, and the whole Milaneſe muſt have been reſtored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealouſy of the

confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome, by the terror of his approach obtained the liberty of Clement the Seventh, and pointed towards Naples the ſubſequent operations of war.

Animated by the rapid progreſs of the confederacy, Francis and Henry by their heralds formally denounced war againſt Charles. The defiance of the latter the emperor received with a decent firmneſs; but he vented his indignation againſt the former by every opprobrious expreſſion; declared he conſidered him as a ſtranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. To this inſult Francis returned the lie in form, and challenged his rival to ſingle combat; Charles readily accepted the challenge; the difficulties reſpecting the order of combat, prevented them from actually meeting; but the example of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages had a conſiderable influence on the manners of Europe, and ſanctioned the practice of duels in private and perſonal quarrels.

A.D. 1528. Meantime Lautrec, with unwearied activity, purſued the imperial generals, who with the remnant of their licentious army had evacuated Rome. Naples on his approach had thrown off the yoke of Charles, and only Gaieta and the capital remained in the hands of

of the Spaniards; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ableſt ſeaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had triumphed over the ſuperior fleet of the emperor; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe Lautrec a certain and ſpeedy conqueſt.

But this flattering proſpect was ſoon blaſted by the imprudence of Francis himſelf; he had neglected to make the proper remittances for the ſupport of the Italian army: and he was prevailed on, by the fatal counſels of his miniſters, to diſguſt his admiral Doria; that officer, though in the ſervice of France, maintained the ſpirit of independence natural to a republic, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldneſs. He was peculiarly animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country; and he oppoſed with menaces the deſign of the French to reſtore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town which the Genoeſe had long regarded with jealouſy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expreſſions, commanded him to be inſtantly arreſted; Doria, apprized of his danger, retired with his gallies to a place of ſafety; entered into a negociation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required; and ſailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour

bour of that city, but to afford it protection and deliverance.

By the arrival of Doria, the communication with the ſea was opened, and plenty reſtored to Naples; the French in their turn began to ſuffer from the want of proviſions; they were inceſſantly haraſſed by the imperialiſts commanded by the prince of Orange. The ravages of famine were ſucceeded by thoſe of peſtilence; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long ſtruggling with the difficulties of his ſituation, expired the victim of diſeaſe and diſappointment. On his death the command devolved on the marquis of Saluzzo, an officer unequal to the truſt; with the remnant of the troops he effected a diſorderly retreat to Averſa, where he was ſoon compelled to capitulate by the prince of Orange; Naples was again evacuated by the French; and the emperor once more acquired the ſuperiority in Italy.

The loſs of Genoa followed the ruin of the army in Naples. The French garriſon in that city was reduced by deſertion to an inconſiderable number; and Doria, impatient to deliver his country from the yoke of foreigners, ſailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow-citizens; the French for a moment ſuſpended their fate by retiring into the citadel,

citadel, but they were quickly obliged to ſurrender; while Doria, inſtead of uſurping the ſovereign power, reſtored the freedom of the republic, eſtabliſhed the government nearly the ſame as it ſubſiſts to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of poſterity, the honourable appellations of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.

In the Milaneſe the French were totally defeated by Antonio de Leyva, already renowned for his defence of Pavia; and Francis, diſcouraged and exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterpriſes, began ſeriouſly to think of peace. The emperor alſo, alarmed at the progreſs of the Turkiſh arms, embaraſſed by the growth of Lutheraniſm in Germany, and the murmurs of his ſubjects in Spain, liſtened to his propoſals. The negociation was conducted by Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, and Louiſa the mother of Francis, and from the place where it was concluded obtained the name of the peace of Cambray; the terms were injurious, and even ignominious to France; her monarch, impatient to reſcue his ſons from captivity, ſacrificed every object for which he had commenced the war. Charles for the preſent indeed was not to demand the reſtitution of Burgundy, but to reſerve his pretenſions in full force; Francis, for the ranſom

ſom of his ſons, agreed to pay him two millions of crowns, and to reſtore ſuch towns as he ſtill held in the Milaneſe; he renounced his claim to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; he reſigned the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and conſented immediately to conſummate his marriage with Eleanora, the emperor's ſiſter.

Such were the conditions by which Francis procured liberty to his ſons; but he fatally wounded his reputation by abandoning his allies the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara to the mercy of the emperor. Clement the Seventh had indeed previouſly concluded a ſeparate treaty, and the king of England, eager to obtain from the pope a divorce from Catherine his queen, not only conſented to the peace of Cambray, but made Francis a preſent of a large ſum towards the payment of the ranſom of his ſons.

After the bloody labours of nine ſucceſſive and deſtructive campaigns, A. D. 1529. 1534. Francis at length taſted the bleſſings of peace. The death of his mother Louiſa delivered him from a counſellor, whoſe paſſions had frequently endangered, whoſe wiſdom and magnanimity had contributed to protect his kingdom; but that prince, accuſtomed to female influence, while he neglected his new conſort, had ſurrendered himſelf

himſelf to the charms of mademoiſelle de Heilly, ducheſs d'Eſtampes. His court during this interval of tranquillity was diſtinguiſhed by its ſuperior ſplendour and luxury, by the patronage of letters, and the protection of the liberal arts. But amidſt diverſions and entertainments the cares of government were ſtill attended to; by a dexterous application he prevailed on the ſtates of Brittany to abandon their claim of a free and ſeparate principality, and to annex that province for ever to the crown of France. He aſſiduouſly cultivated the friendſhip of the king of England, and a ſecond interview between the two monarchs, at a village equally diſtant from Calais and Boulogne, diſplayed every mark of mutual confidence. Yet incapable of abandoning his hopes of the Milaneſe, he ſolicited a conference with pope Clement the Seventh; at Marſeilles he embraced the holy father; and to engage him more ſtrenuouſly in his views on Italy, he demanded and obtained the hand of the celebrated Catharine of Medicis, the niece of Clement, for his ſecond ſon Henry; the nuptials were celebrated with uncommon magnificence; but the death of Clement himſelf, only eleven months afterwards, diſſipated the expectations which the king had fondly formed from this alliance.

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A. D. 1535. Five years of peace had contributed to heal the wounds of war; and Francis, indignant of the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, ſeized the opportunity of his rival's abſence, then acquiring laurels, and breaking the chains of the chriſtian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Marveille, his agent at Milan, whom Sforza cauſed to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hoſtilities; and the duke of Savoy, by refuſing permiſſion to the French troops to paſs through Piedmont, drew upon himſelf the immediate fury of the tempeſt.

The troops of France, commanded by the admiral Brion, ſwept the dominions of Savoy; and amidſt the ſtorm, the province of Piedmont alone maintained its allegiance to the duke. Franciſco Sforza expired with terror at the approach of an enemy by whom he had been twice expelled; and Francis again flattered himſelf with the vain hope of acquiring the aſcendancy in Italy. But this proſpect was blaſted by the peculiar circumſtances of his allies, and by his own imprudence. Paul, who had ſucceeded Clement in the apoſtolical chair, ſeemed determined to maintain a firm neutrality; and the king of England, who had juſt thrown off the papal ſupremacy, refuſed his aſſiſtance, unleſs Francis would imitate his example,

example. Two other alliances naturally preſented themſelves; the firſt with ſultan Solyman, enraged at the emperor's African expedition; the ſecond with the princes of Germany, who had embraced the tenets of Luther, a native of Eiſleben in Saxony; that wonderful man, of vigorous underſtanding and undaunted diſpoſition, had rouſed the greater part of Germany to deſpiſe the fallacious promiſes, and to reſiſt the oppreſſions, of the court of Rome. His doctrines, recommended by truth and novelty, were eagerly embraced; the princes of Germany who had acceeded to his opinions, jealous of the deſigns of Charles, had formed themſelves into a confederacy to defend their religious freedom, and had liſtened with pleaſure to the propoſals of Francis. But that monarch, by one fatal and inconſiſtent ſtep, deſtroyed the fruits of his ſilent labours; fearful of awaking the indignation of the Roman pontiff, and the prejudices of an age ſcarce emerging from ſuperſtition, by his negociations with avowed hereticks, and the open enemies of his religion, he ſeized the firſt opportunity of demonſtrating his unſhaken confidence in the doctrines of the eſtabliſhed church; ſix of his ſubjects who had imbibed the proteſtant opinions, were publicly burnt; the king himſelf was preſent at their execution, and declared with that vehemence

which ever diſtinguiſhed him, that if one of his hands was infected with hereſy, he would cut it off with the other; and would not ſpare even his own children if found guilty of that crime. A meaſure ſo inhuman for ever ſullied the benignity of his general character, and the princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with reſentment and indignation at the fate of their brethren, renounced with horror and deteſtation the alliance of Francis.

A. D. 1436. Yet had that monarch availed himſelf of the favourable moment, he might have ſtill triumphed over his adverſary. The emperor unprepared, was incapable of reſiſting the torrent or affording the ſmalleſt ſuccour to the duke of Savoy. But Francis permitted himſelf to be duped by the artifices of his rival. Inſtead of ordering his army to advance towards Milan, he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with ſpecious profeſſions. Charles had indeed ſeized that duchy, on the death of Sforza, as a vacant fief of the empire; but while he ſeemed only ſolicitous to admit the claim of Francis, in ſuch a form as might not diſturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, his preparations for war were carried on with ſecrecy and vigour; he at length threw off the maſk, declared his ſentiments in

the moſt explicit manner, and in the preſence of the pope and cardinals reviled the king of France in the moſt violent and indecent terms.

With an army of forty thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand cavalry, Charles entered Piedmont; the forces of France retired before him, and the treachery of the marquis de Saluces, who commanded them, facilitated the progreſs of the emperor. That nobleman, by a ſuperſtitious faith in aſtrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to deſert the cauſe of his ſovereign and benefactor. But Montpezat, the governer of Foſſano, by his courage and conduct delayed before that inconſiderable place the imperial army above a month, and allowed his royal maſter time to prepare for the defence of his kingdom.

Francis had early penetrated into the deſign of his rival, not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to puſh forward into the ſouthern provinces of France. He himſelf was determined to remain on the defenſive; without hazarding a battle, to throw garriſons into the towns of the greateſt ſtrength; and to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence by laying waſte the country before them. The execution of this plan he devolved on the mareſchal of Montmo-

rency; a man haughty and ſevere; confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men; and in the proſecution of his ſchemes alike regardleſs of love and of pity.

Charles, ſanguine and ardent, entered Provence, but was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the face of deſolation which reigned over the whole country. A few defenceleſs towns immediately ſubmitted to him, but the fields, deſtitute of cattle and grain, chilled the fire of the invaders; Montmorency ſtrongly encamped under the walls of Avignon, defied his arms; and the cities of Marſeilles and Arles had been ſtrengthened by new fortifications. Againſt the former the aſſaults of the emperor were directed; for two months the inglorious ſiege was continued; famine and diſeaſe inceſſantly preyed upon his troops; and he at length reluctantly conſented to abandon the hopeleſs enterpriſe, in which his braveſt officers had periſhed, and his army was reduced to one half of their original number. In his retreat terror and confuſion hung upon his rear, and he was only preſerved from total deſtruction by the pertinacious caution of Montmorency, who declared that a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a flying enemy.

On the oppoſite frontier of France his attempts were equally unſucceſsful; a powerful army from

the Low Countries entered Picardy, but was obliged to retire with diſgrace from the walls of Peronne; and Francis by the prudence of his own meaſures, and the union and valour of his ſubjects, rendered abortive the formidable ſchemes of his rival. One circumſtance alone embittered his ſucceſs; in the midſt of the campaign the dauphin had expired; a prince who extremely reſembled his father, and whoſe ſudden death was imputed to poiſon. His cup bearer was ſeized on ſuſpicion, and openly accuſed the imperial generals Gonzaga and Leyva; but the moſt unprejudiced hiſtorians have rejected the evidence extorted by torture, and have aſcribed the premature fate of the dauphin to his having drank too freely of cold water, after heating himſelf at tennis.

The next year opened with a ſcene as ſingular as it was unworthy the author of it. The king of France ſummoned the emperor as his vaſſal for the counties of Artois and Flanders, to appear before the parliament of Paris; and on his refuſal declared thoſe fiefs forfeited by his contumacy and rebellion. As if to execute this ſentence, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral towns. Theſe were ſoon retaken by the ſuperior forces of the Flemings; who in their A. D. 1537.

turn inveſted Terouanne. The dauphin, and Montmorency, on whom Francis had beſtowed the ſword of conſtable, advanced to relieve it; but when they were within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared unavoidable, they were ſtopt by the intelligence that a ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on.

A. D. 1538. The enmity of both monarchs ſeems to have exceeded their reſources, and their coffers were exhauſted by their frequent and bloody wars. A truce in the Low Countries for ten months had been extorted by their mutual neceſſities, and this was ſoon after extended to Piedmont; Charles dreaded the formidable armaments of ſultan Solyman, with whom Francis had contracted a cloſe alliance; nor was the latter monarch inſenſible to the infamy which accompanied his confederacy with infidels againſt a chriſtian king. Though innumerable obſtacles oppoſed a definitive treaty, each prince affected to liſten to the exhortations of the roman pontiff, and Paul at laſt prevailed on them to ſuſpend their hoſtile efforts by a truce for ten years.

During theſe tranſactions James the fifth, king of Scotland, mindful of the ancient alliances between the two crowns, had fitted out a fleet and army for the aſſiſtance of Francis; though contrary winds retarded his embarkation till the

hour

hour of danger was paſt, Francis rewarded his zeal with the hand of his daughter Magdalen, who accompanied her huſband to Scotland, where ſhe ſoon breathed her laſt; and James ſtill deſirous of cementing his connections with France, ſhortly after eſpouſed Mary of Guiſe, widow of the duke of Longueville.

A few days after ſigning the treaty of Nice, the emperor, in his paſſage to Barcelona, was driven by contray winds to the iſland of St. Margaret, on the coaſt of Provence. Francis, informed of the accident, invited him to take ſhelter in his dominions, and propoſed a perſonal interview at Aiguis-mortes. To this Charles conſented; and the two rivals, after twenty years open hoſtilities, vied with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip. After the departure of the emperor, Francis, relieved from the concerns of war, amuſed himſelf with a journey into Dauphinè, and gratified a liberal mind with exploring the ſecrets of Nature, and patronizing the arts.

Far different cares occupied his rival; A. D. 1539.
the citizens of Ghent, animated by remembrance of former freedom, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refuſed to contribute to the ſupport of the late war, and erecting the ſtandard of rebellion, had offered by their depu-

ties to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch, ſtill flattering himſelf with the vain hope of obtaining the inveſtiture of Milan from the juſtice of the emperor, rejected the propoſals of the Flemings, and communicated their ſchemes and intentions to his rival. Charles, though free from any danger on the ſide of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obſtinate. The exigency, he was ſenſible, demanded his immediate preſence, but his dignity allowed him not to paſs through Germany without a train of attendants and troops that muſt neceſſarily have delayed him; and the voyage by ſea was dangerous at that advanced ſeaſon of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his moſt experienced counſellors, he reſolved, as the ſhorteſt way, to demand a paſſage through the dominions of his rival; to Francis, he at the ſame time repreſented his inclinations to ſettle the affair of the Milaneſe to his ſatisfaction; but he entreated that he would not exact any new promiſe from him at this juncture, when it rather might ſeem to be extorted by neceſſity, than to flow from friendſhip, or the love of juſtice. The French king, open and generous in his diſpoſition, fell into the ſnare of his artful rival; he readily aſſented to all the emperor demanded; he offered his two ſons, the dauphin

and

and the duke of Orleans, as ſecurity for his perſon; and entertained him in his capital for ſix days with every mark of reſpect and royal magnificence.

But Charles had no ſooner reached his own territories, than the French ambaſſadors demanded the reſtitution of the Milaneſe; for ſeveral months the king of France was deluded by the ambiguous anſwers and ſpecious delays of his rival. The revolted Flemings were at length completely humbled by their imperial maſter; and Charles relinquiſhed the diſguiſe which was no longer neceſſary to his intereſt; he peremptorily refuſed to give up a territory of ſuch value, and denied that he had ever made any promiſe which could bind him to an action ſo weak and imprudent.

Francis was filled with indignation when he found himſelf thus egregiouſly deceived; the credulous ſimplicity with which he had truſted his rival, expoſed him to the ridicule of Europe. He ſuſpected the treachery of his own ſervants; and the perſons in the firſt departments of ſtate were inſtantly diſgraced. Montmorency the conſtable, Brion the admiral, and Poyet the chancellor, were the immediate victims of his diſpleaſure. He filled every court in Europe with his negociations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with ſuſpicion his frequent A. D. 1540. 1541.

interviews

interviews with the emperor, and his alliance with the king of Scotland; the pope ſtill maintained an impartial neutrality; and ſultan Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himſelf ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the agents of Francis, as they returned from the Ottoman Porte, were aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of the marquis del Guaſto, governor of the Milaneſe. The French monarch loudly accuſed this foul violation of the laws of nations: and demanded the puniſhment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; his demands were eluded; and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms, that juſtice which he vainly ſought in negociation.

A. D. 1542. A diſeaſe, the effect of his irregular pleaſures, precluded Francis from heading his forces in perſon, but did not impede the vigour of his preparations. His rival was ſcarce returned from a ſecond and unſucceſsful expedition to Africa, before the French monarch invaded his dominions with five formidable armies. Spain, Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were the objects of their operations. In the two former countries, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans opened the campaign about the ſame time. The firſt laid ſiege to Perpignan, the capital of Rouſſillon; the laſt entered Luxem-

Luxembourg, and reduced the greateſt part of the duchy; but on a report that the emperor was advancing to the relief of Perpignan, the duke of Orleans imprudently abandoned his conqueſts, and haſtened to join the army of the dauphin. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a deciſive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the perſevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſes, and repulſed in ſeveral attacks, abandoned the undertaking, and retired into their own country; their attempts in Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were equally unſucceſsful; and the mighty preparations of Francis were expended in ineffectual enterpriſes.

The revolted inhabitants of Rochelle were however reduced by the A. D. 1543. arms, and pardoned by the clemency, of their ſovereign; but the ſatisfaction which Francis derived from this event, was loſt in his public rupture with the king of England. The French monarch, on his ſide, poſſeſſed himſelf of Luxembourg, and in conjunction with ſultan Soliman, laid ſiege to Nice; but this enterpriſe proved as unſucceſsful as his alliance with the Infidels was eſteemed diſhonourable; and the reſt of

of the campaign was conſumed by all parties in a feeble and deſultory war.

A. D. 1544. The next opened with more vigour; the young count d'Enguien, who revived the memory of Gaſton de Foix, penetrated into Piedmont, and defeated in the battle of Cerizoles the imperial general the marquis del Guaſto; but his troops were recalled from the purſuit of this victory to oppoſe a more formidable enemy. Charles and Henry had entered Picardy with two prodigious armies; had they joined their forces, and rapidly advanced, Paris muſt have again acknowledged the dominion of a foreign maſter; but the former obſtinately perſevered in the ſiege of St. Diſier, and the latter refuſed to abandon his attempt on Boulogne. Francis, ſtill oppreſſed by his diſorder, committed his army to the command of the dauphin. St. Diſier was at laſt betrayed to the emperor by an artifice; but the beſt of his troops had periſhed in the ſiege; he, however, entered Champagne, poſſeſſed himſelf of Eſpernay and Chateau-Thierri, the latter of thoſe not above two days march from Paris, and ſtruck terror into the luxurious inhabitants of that proud city; but the dauphin at this critical moment threw himſelf between the forces of Charles and the capital, reſtored confidence to the Pariſians, and haraſſed by inceſſant

ſkirmiſhes

ſkirmiſhes the imperial army. Charles, ſtraitened for forage and proviſion, liſtened to terms of accommodation; a definitive treaty was ſigned at Creſpy, by which Francis reſigned his acquiſitions in Savoy and Piedmont; and the emperor engaged, in the ſpace of two years, to beſtow on the duke of Orleans his daughter, or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries, or the Milaneſe, in dowry.

Before the negociations at Creſpy were concluded, the king of England had reduced Boulogne; and Francis, to recover that important place, advanced with his younger ſon, the duke of Orleans, to the abbey of Foret-Mouſtier, between Abbeville and Montreuil. He was here doomed to experience a new affliction by the death of that prince, who expired of a peſtilential fever; and Charles immediately declared that by this accident he held himſelf acquitted from all his agreements relative to the Milaneſe. A. D. 1545.

The loſs of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count d'Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the death of both theſe princes impreſſed Francis with a grief, which even an advantageous peace with England could not mitigate. Though at length finally delivered A. D. 1546. 1547.

livered from the cares of war which had afflicted the greateſt part of his reign, the remaining hours of his life were embittered by domeſtic contention. The enmity and intrigues of his own miſtreſs, the ducheſs d'Eſtampes, and of Diana de Poitiers, miſtreſs to the dauphin, divided the court into open and implacable factions; the death of Henry of England, deeply wounded Francis, who had long known and perſonally loved that monarch; his own diſorder continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to another, languid and depreſſed; at length at Rambouillet, with exemplary compoſure, he cloſed, in the fifty third year of his age, a reign of thirty two years, diſtinguiſhed by its length, its ſplendour, and its viciſſitudes of fortune. The magnificence which acompanied him through life, deſerted him not in death; his funeral obſequies were performed with unuſual pomp; and the proclamation which announced his death, diſplayed his character; "a prince mild in peace, "and victorious in war; the father and reſtorer "of learning and the liberal arts."

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty-fifth.

HENRY THE SECOND SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE—CHARACTER OF HIS MISTRESS DIANA DE POITIERS—DUEL OF JARNAC AND LE CHATAIGNERAIE—MARY, THE INFANT QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, IS SENT TO FRANCE—WAR BETWEEN HENRY AND THE EMPEROR—SIEGE OF METZ—A TRUCE CONCLUDED—ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR—WAR RENEWED—ITALIAN EXPEDITION—BATTLE OF SAINT QUINTIN—CALAIS RECOVERED—BATTLE OF GRAVELINES—PEACE SIGNED—PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS—DEATH OF HENRY.

FRANCE had ſeverely ſuffered from the liberal ſpirit and magnificence of her late monarch, and ſhe was now doomed to lament his premature fate by the prodigality of her new ſovereign; when Henry the ſecond aſcended the throne of his father, he was in the twenty-eighth year A. D. 1547.

year of his age, poſſeſſed of the full vigour of body and of mind; handſome in his perſon; accompliſhed in the martial exerciſes of the age; courteous, open, and beneficent. But he neither diſplayed the capacity or diſcernment which diſtinguiſhed Francis; and naturally tractable and yielding to others, he was formed to be under the guidance of favourites.

The dying injunctions of his father had exhorted him never to recall the conſtable Montmorency, and to repreſs the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Guiſe; but the former was loaded with honours, and the latter entruſted with the confidence of Henry; while only duke of Orleans, the king, at the early age of thirteen, had eſpouſed Catherine of Medicis; that princeſs had a few years ſince brought him a ſon, who was named Francis; but thoſe ſeducing arts for which ſhe was afterwards ſo eminent, ſeem not to have affected the mind of her huſband, who profeſſed himſelf the willing ſlave of Diana de Poitiers, ducheſs de Valentinois.

This extraordinary woman, who ruled with abſolute ſway over her lover, had with undiminiſhed beauty reached the autumn of life, and at the age of forty-eight, beheld a great and youthful monarch ſighing at her feet. Her father, John de Poitiers, ſeigneur de St. Vallier, had been degraded

graded from the rank of nobility, and his eſtates confiſcated, as an accomplice in the revolt of Bourbon. She herſelf, in the laſt year of Louis the Twelfth's reign, had married Breze, count de Maulevrier, by whom ſhe had two daughters then alive. Before Henry had compleated his eighteenth year, her aſcendancy over him was eſtabliſhed; a warm friend, but implacable enemy; fond of power, but yet more ſo of flattery; of high and magnanimous ſpirit, ſhe impelled her royal lover to actions of vigour and firmneſs.

Francis de Vivonne la Chataigneraie, had impeached the fidelity of her rival, the ducheſs d'Eſtampes, and accuſed her during the late king's illneſs of an amorous commerce with Guy Chabot ſeigneur de Jarnac. The latter denied the charge; and Henry, with his court, was preſent at the duel which was fought in the forms of chivalry, at St. Germain en Laye. La Chataigneraie was the favourite of the king, in the vigour of his age, and celebrated for his addreſs in martial exerciſes; Jarnac was far advanced into the vale of years, and a fever had diminiſhed even his uſual ſtrength and activity; yet the former was thrown from his horſe, and wounded in the thigh. Indignant at the triumph of his adverſary, he tore the dreſſings from his wound, and ſoon afterwards expir-

ed. Henry himſelf was ſo deeply affected by this unexpected cataſtrophe, that he made a ſolemn vow never to ſuffer another combat of the kind on any pretence whatſoever.

A. D. 1548. James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired, and left his crown to his infant and only daughter Mary; the miniſters of England endeavoured by arms to extort the hand of that princeſs for their youthful monarch Edward the Sixth. To the ſupport of his ancient allies, the king of France detached ſix thouſand men; the Scotch, grateful for theſe ſuccours, and inflamed with hereditary hatred to the Engliſh, entruſted their queen to the French admiral Villegaignon; who landed her ſafely at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon afterwards betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1549. Henry himſelf was at this time particularly engaged with a dangerous ſedition which broke out in Guienne; to repreſs the unbridled fury of the people, the conſtable Montmorency, and the duke of Guiſe, were commiſſioned to enter that province; the former marked his courſe with blood, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by exemplary ſeverity; the latter reclaimed the inſurgents by his conciliating addreſs and lenient meaſures. The popularity he acquired

acquired by his clemency laid the foundation of the future greatneſs of his family, and ſupported by the affections of the people, enabled it to vie with the power of the throne. Henry himſelf though humane and generous, was tinctured with the miſtaken piety and intemperate zeal of the age; and a number of proſelytes to the doctrines of Calvin and Luther were publicly and ſolemnly burnt, by the command, and in the preſence of a ſovereign, cruel only in his religion.

The recovery of Boulogne was an object of the higheſt importance to the intereſt and honour of France; the Engliſh councils were weak and divided, and the feuds which commonly diſtract a minority, raged with uncontrolled violence. The miniſters of Edward the Sixth readily liſtened to the propoſals of Henry, who offered four hundred thouſand crowns for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne. The ſum propoſed was accepted; and the peace which was negociated between the two kingdoms, was extended alſo to Scotland. A. D. 1550.

Henry thus delivered from all dread of England, was at leiſure to employ his thoughts in ſchemes for curbing the power of the emperor Charles, the conſtant rival of his grandeur. He had openly proteſted againſt the treaty A. D. 1551.

of Creſpy, as injurious to the intereſt of the crown; and only calculated to aggrandize his younger brother the duke of Orleans, who ſoon after expired. He now reſumed his hopes of Italian conqueſts; and that country was again menaced with indications of approaching hoſtilities. Julius the Third, who had ſucceeded Paul in the apoſtolical throne, had taken up arms to diſpoſſeſs the grandſons of the late pontiff of the duchy of Parma; theſe claimed and obtained the protection of Henry; while the pope, ſenſible that he alone could not expect to reduce Octavio Farneſe, ſupported by the king of France, had inſtantly recourſe to the emperor. Charles ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius with all his troops; Henry directed the mareſchal Briſſac to enter Piedmont, and to ſuſtain the duke of Parma; in the name of their reſpective allies the French and Imperialiſts took the field; while their ſovereigns affected inviolably to maintain the peace of Creſpy, the former ravaged part of the eccleſiaſtical territories; the latter penetrated to the gates of Parma; but they were obliged to relinquiſh the ſiege of that city with diſgrace.

But Henry ſoon laid aſide the veil which he had hitherto worn, and acted openly and avowedly againſt his rival. The league of Smalkalde, which had been formed by the proteſtant princes

of

of Germany in defence of their religious principles, had been broken by the ſuperior vigour and ſagacity of the emperor; but his victory had inſpired him with preſumptuous confidence; he had arbitrarily depoſed the elector of Saxony, impriſoned the landgrave of Heſſe, and daringly infringed the rights and conſtitutions of the Germanic body. Maurice duke of Saxony, couſin to the elector, and a proteſtant prince himſelf, had in the purſuit of his own intereſt ſeconded the deſigns, and acquired the favour of Charles; but he was no ſooner inveſted with the ſpoils of his degraded kinſman, than he reſolved to reſcue them from the caprice of a maſter whom he dreaded, and more firmly to eſtabliſh a religion, the exerciſe of which he had contributed to reſtrain. In the execution of this enterpriſe, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy which deceived the moſt artful prince in Europe; and while he appeared the obſequious ſervant of imperial power, he inſinuated himſelf into the confidence, and attained an unqualified aſcendancy over the minds of thoſe whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. He ſecretly negociated a new confederacy of the proteſtants, of which he was appointed the head; and he earneſtly courted the aſſiſtance of Henry to

oppoſe the deſpotiſm which Charles laboured to eſtabliſh.

A. D. 1552. The king of France nurſed the hopes of the confederates with men and money; and at the moment that Maurice unfurled the ſtandard of civil and religious freedom, he himſelf deluged Lorrain with his forces, ſeized the perſon of the young duke Charles, the nephew of the emperor, and planted the banners of France on the cities of Metz, Verdun, and Toulon; while on the other ſide Charles, who had ſo lately aſpired to the dominion of Europe, with a feeble train, and under cover of the night, was compelled to evacuate Inſpruck, and haſtily fled before the arms of Maurice to Villach, in Corinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories. Surpriſed and abandoned, he ſigned a treaty at Paſſau, which for ever ſecured the eccleſiaſtical and civil independence of the German princes; who, attentive alone to their own concerns, ſcarce ſeemed to remember how much they were indebted for their ſucceſs to Henry, and made a merit to their ſovereign of abandoning their ally to his reſentment.

The perfidy of the German princes was in ſome meaſure juſtified by the rapacity of the king of France. He endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf by an artifice of the city of Straſburgh, which

which commanded the navigation of the Rhine; but the powerful mediation of the princes of Germany and the Swiſs compelled him to deſiſt; and he was ſoon recalled to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions. Charles prepared, with the forces which he had aſſembled to encounter the confederates, to recover the three towns of which Henry had made himſelf maſter; with an army of ſixty thouſand men he directed his march along the banks of the Rhine, and in the month of October, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, he formed the ſiege of Metz.

The king of France had early penetrated into his intentions; he provided with alacrity and vigour for the defence of his new acquiſitions; and nominated to the command of Metz, Francis of Lorrain duke of Guiſe. That nobleman poſſeſſed all the talents of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which eminently fitted him for ſo important a truſt. Ambitious of fame by ſplendid and daring atchievments, he repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation that was aſſigned him. He diligently repaired the old fortifications, and ſkilfully executed new ones; he deſtroyed the ſuburbs which might favour the approaches of the enemy; he waſted the country for ſeveral miles round from whence they hoped

to draw their ſubſiſtence. He filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; and urged the labours of his ſoldiers by the cheerfulneſs with which he ſubmitted to ſhare their toils and partake of their fatigues.

His efforts and ardour were ſeconded by the inclemencies of the ſeaſon; the winter ſet in with unuſual rigour; in little more than a month from the commencement of the ſiege, the camp of the Imperialiſts was alternately deluged with rain or covered with ſnow; the Spaniards and Italians, accuſtomed to more genial climates, ſunk the victims of cold and diſeaſe; the troops throughout, torpid and diſpirited, were no longer to be animated by the voice of their leaders; when commanded to advance to the breaches, they ſtood motionleſs in dejected ſilence; and the indignant emperor retired to his tent complaining that he was deſerted by his ſoldiers, who no longer deſerved the name of men. Yet Charles, ever haughty and inflexible, maintained his ſtation when even hope had forſaken him; and it was not till his army was reduced to half of its original number, that he conſented to relinquiſh the fruitleſs enterpriſe.

A. D. 1553. Neceſſity at length compelled him to begin his retreat towards Germany, and he directed his tumultuous flight acroſs the Alps.

Alps. Shame and terror hung upon his rear; and his fainting ſteps were traced by the ſick, the wounded, and the dead. The generous enmity of the duke of Guiſe was vanquiſhed by the ſcene of Imperial miſery; and he ſcorned to triumph over a foe no longer capable of reſiſtance; his care and liberality were exerted to heal the wounded, and to reſtore the famiſhed; and the courage which he had diſplayed in the ſiege, was exceeded by the humanity which he exerciſed in the purſuit.

In Italy the Sieneſe threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themſelves under the protection of France; while Solyman, the powerful, but diſhonourable ally of Henry, filled the Mediterranean with his fleets, and ſtruck terror through the city of Naples. Had the operations of the Ottomans been ſeconded by the armaments of Henry, Naples muſt once more have acknowledged the dominion of a French maſter; but the Turks hearing no tidings from their ally, ſailed again to Conſtantinople; and the attention of Henry was diverted from foreign conqueſts to the protection of his own dominions.

Impatient to efface the ignominious repulſe at Metz, Charles entered France, and poured the tempeſt of his arms on Terouanne; D'Eſſe, a veteran officer who commanded in that city, was killed;

killed; the Imperialiſts preſſed the ſiege with vigour and perſeverance; and the place was taken by aſſault. Charles ordered the fortifications to be raſed, and the inhabitants to be diſperſed in the adjacent towns. The army, under the command of Emanuel Philibert, the young duke of Savoy, who already began to diſplay thoſe talents for which he was afterwards ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, moved next to the ſiege of Heſdin. Its walls, though defended with bravery, could not long withſtand the ardour of the aſſailants; and Henry himſelf in perſon, with a numerous army, advanced to check the formidable progreſs of his enemy.

The appearance of ſuch an antagoniſt, rouſed the emperor from the bed of ſickneſs; he quitted Bruſſels in a litter, and arrived in his camp, though debilitated in his body, yet firm and undaunted in mind; but his prudence ſuffered him not to hazard the fate of the war in a deciſive action; and the king of France, after having in vain endeavoured to compel his rival to an engagement, by threatening the ſiege of Cambray, and embaraſſed by the indiſpoſition of the conſtable Montmorency, on whoſe military experience he chiefly relied, retired without performing any thing worthy the greatneſs of his preparations.

But

But Charles, ſtill anxious to aggran- A. D. 1554.
dize his family, conceived a new pro-
ject, which he purſued with the utmoſt ardour, and accompliſhed with the moſt happy ſucceſs. Edward the Sixth of England had expired after a ſhort reign; and his crown devolved on his ſiſter Mary, whoſe hand the emperor demanded, and obtained for his ſon Philip. This acceſſion to the influence and power of the houſe of Auſtria, ſerved to increaſe the jealouſy, without intimidating the king of France. He determined to carry on the war both in Italy and the Low Countries with additional vigour; and to compel Charles to accept an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could ſurmount the averſion of her ſubjects to a war on the continent. With three great armies he ravaged Hainault, Liege, and Artois, reduced Mariemburgh, took Bouvines and Dinant by aſſault, and inveſted Renti. The emperor, though broken by years, fatigue, and indiſpoſition, marched to the relief of that place. An obſtinate ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the imperial army was worſted with a conſiderable loſs of men and artillery; and had the efforts of the duke of Guiſe been ſeconded by the conſtable of Montmorency, the rout of the enemy muſt have been complete; but the jealouſy of thoſe commanders proved fatal to the glory of their country; the French themſelves

ſelves were ſoon after compelled to retire for want of proviſions; and Charles, after their retreat, entering Picardy, extended his devaſtations over that province, and revenged the ravages committed in Hainault and Artois.

In Italy the French were more unfortunate than in Flanders. Strozzi, a Florentine exile, who commanded in that country, was defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand men, by the marquis of Marignano, general to Coſmo de Medicis. The ſiege of Sienna was inſtantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for ſome months by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French garriſon; but the Sieneſe, ſuperior to the force of arms, were incapable of reſiſting the aſſaults of famine; the terms they obtained were however honourable; and Monluc, with the French troops, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; but the mareſchal of Briſſac, in Piedmont, ſupported the glory of his country, and juſtified the choice of his prince; though his troops were inferior to thoſe of the imperialiſts, he not only baffled the attempts of the duke of Alva, who, with his uſual arrogance, had boaſted that he would ſoon drive him beyond the mountains, but even extended his incurſions into that part of the country, which hitherto the emperor had preſerved; and would

pro-

probably have rendered more important ſervices to his country, had not the neceſſary ſupplies for his ſupport, been intercepted by the jealouſy of the Guiſes and the conſtable Montmorency.

On the death of Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, the king of France A. D. 1555. was deſirous of annexing Bearn, and the ſmall remnant of that prince's territories, to his own dominions; but Anthony, duke of Vendoſme, who had married Jane, the heireſs of d'Albret, by his diligence ſecured the royal inheritance which deſcended to him; and rejected the threats and promiſes of Henry, who alternately menaced him with the weight of his arms, and tempted him with liberal offers of compenſation.

The emperor, broken by infirmities, had renewed his negociations for peace. He had flattered himſelf with the hope of obtaining poſſeſſion of Metz by the treachery of a monk, guardian to a convent of Franciſcans; but the conſpiracy was detected; the imperaliſts detached for the enterpriſe were defeated with ſlaughter; and the monk with his confederates ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of their treaſon. Charles, mortified at the decline of his military glory, and oppreſſed by age and diſeaſe, received an additional diſappointment in the death of pope Julius

lius the Third, and the election of cardinal Caraffa to the vacant dignity; the new pontiff, who aſſumed the name of Paul the Fourth, demanded the protection of France, offered the inveſtiture of Naples to her king, and endeavoured to negociate a ſtrict alliance with him for their mutual advantage. Henry liſtened with pleaſure to propoſals which flattered his ambition with the hope of once more acquiring the aſcendancy in Italy; and the cardinal of Lorrain was diſpatched to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert meaſures for carrying it into execution.

So many unfavourable circumſtances combining with a ſhattered conſtitution, determined the emperor to retire from the cares of public life, before his reputation was entirely overwhelmed by the tempeſt which he beheld gathering round him. By reſigning his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip, he in ſome meaſure diſarmed the jealouſy of France; and delivered himſelf from a burthen, which his waining ſtrength was no longer capable of ſupporting with proper dignity. At Bruſſels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himſelf the imperial dignity, which in about a year afterwards he relinquiſhed to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

Henry, indulgent to his paſſions, A. D. 1556.
and to the profuſion of his miſtreſs, had been obliged to load his ſubjects with new impoſts, to defray the expences of war and the magnificence of his court. The emperor, ſolicitous to procure an interval of tranquillity, that his ſon might eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on the throne, was ready to liſten to any terms of accommodation. The various claims of the rival monarchs rendered it difficult to conclude a ſolid peace; but an expedient was propoſed of terminating their hoſtilities by a long truce, which, without diſcuſſing their different pretenſions, allowed each to retain what was in his poſſeſſion. Henry, in accepting theſe favourable conditions, which left him in quiet enjoyment of the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions, with his important acquiſitions on the German frontier, was only embaraſſed by his late engagements with the pope; theſe he however was perſuaded by the conſtable Montmorency to ſacrifice to the intereſts of his kingdom; but he carefully ſtipulated, that in the truce, which was ſigned for five years, the Roman pontiff ſhould be expreſsly included.

Paul received the intelligence of the late negociation with terror and aſtoniſhment; he beheld himſelf forſaken by the ally on whom he depened,

ed, and expoſed to the reſentment of an adverſary whom he dreaded. The duke of Alva was already encamped on the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical territories; and the pope, to avert the immediate danger, had recourſe to thoſe arts for which the court of Rome was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. Under pretence of mediating a definitive peace between the rival princes, cardinal Rebiba was diſpatched to Bruſſels, and the nephew of the pontiff, cardinal Caraffa, to Paris. The former was ſecretly inſtructed to protract his negociation as long as poſſible; while the latter was directed to preſs the French king to renounce the treaty of truce, and to reſume his engagements with the holy ſee. By preſents and flattery Caraffa gained the ſuffrages of Catherine of Medicis, and Diana Poitiers. Henry was incapable of reſiſting the importunities of his conſort and miſtreſs, ſeconded by the ardour of the duke of Guiſe, and the eloquence of his brother the cardinal of Lorrain. His own genius, warlike and enterpriſing, correſponded with their inclinations; and he ſigned a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy, and the Low-Countries.

Philip, in his diſpute with the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, though naturally haughty and inflexible, had diſcovered uncommon moderation. His

early

early years had been entruſted to the care of Spaniſh eccleſiaſticks, and in a more mature age he retained that veneration for the holy ſee which they had ſedulouſly inculcated. But with every appearance of heſitation the pontiff's arrogance had increaſed, and at length the duke of Alva was commanded to enter the eccleſiaſtical territories. The light troops of the Spaniards ſoon penetrated to the very gates of Rome, and Paul, yielding to the fears and ſolicitations of the cardinals, propoſed a ceſſation of arms. Alva, ſenſible how deſirous his maſter was of terminating a war which he had undertaking with infinite reluctance, cloſed with the overtures; and conſented firſt to a truce for ten, and afterwards for forty days.

In the mean time the duke of Guiſe paſſed the Alps with an army of twenty thouſand men, and the flower of the French nobility; whom the ſplendour of his character, and his reputation for courteſy, courage, and liberality, allured to follow his ſtandard. Paul on his approach aſſumed his former arrogance, and baniſhed from his mind all thoughts but thoſe of war and revenge, while the Spaniards retired toward the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom. Yet though the pope was animated with the ſtrongeſt reſent- A. D. 1557.

ment againſt Philip, he neglected the neceſſary means to enſure the gratification of it; neither the pecuniary or military aids which he had engaged to furniſh, were ready; the Italian ſtates either preſerved a ſtrict neutrality, or were openly united with Philip. The duke of Guiſe ſoon perceived that his hopes of ſucceſs muſt entirely depend upon himſelf. He was repulſed from the walls of Civiteſla, a town on the Neapolitan frontiers; his army was waſted by ſickneſs, and harraſſed by fruitleſs marches; while the Spaniards again extended their devaſtations over the patrimony of St. Peter, he was compelled to return to Rome for the protection of the holy father. With a weak and impatient ally, with a broken and deſponding army, he confined his operations to the defence of the capital; and the flattering viſion of Italian conqueſts was gradually baniſhed from his mind.

Philip had received with indignation the intelligence of Henry's deſigns to violate the recent truce. He directed his arms againſt the frontier towns of Flanders, expoſed by the expedition againſt Italy. He perſuaded his conſort, the queen of England, to enter into his views; her violent affection for Philip excited her to ſurmount the reluctance of her ſubjects, and to declare war againſt France; Emanuel Philibert,

duke

duke of Savoy, was entruſted with the command of the main army; the zeal of the Flemings was diſplayed in ſeconding the deſigns of their new ſovereign; and while Philip himſelf fixed his quarters at Cambray, the duke of Savoy, after alarming France on the ſide of Champagne, advanced by rapid marches, and inveſted St. Quintin in Picardy.

The garriſon of that town had been weakened by detachments ſent towards Champagne, and ſcarce amounted to one fifth of the number requiſite for its defence. The fortifications had been neglected; and the beſiegers were ſtimulated by the importance of acquiring a town, which opened to them a direct road to Paris. A few days muſt have crowned their efforts with ſucceſs, if admiral de Coligny, conſidering his honour concerned to preſerve a place within his juriſdiction, had not thrown himſelf into the town with a gallant band of followers, and by his ſkill and determined valour at leaſt deferred its fate.

The voice of glory and intereſt called upon Henry to ſave a town, the loſs of which would open a paſſage for the enemy into the heart of France. The forces he could haſtily aſſemble, he confided to the experience of the conſtable Montmorency, whoſe natural caution was van-

quiſhed by his deſire to extricate his nephew Coligny from his dangerous ſituation. With this view he approached the camp of the enemy, while d'Andelot, the brother of Coligny, with five hundred adventurous followers, forced his entrance into the town.

But in the execution of this deſign, Montmorency had drawn too near the entrenchments of the beſiegers to eſcape with impunity from ſo active and vigilant a commander as the duke of Savoy. He had ſcarce began to retire, before he was preſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. The ranks of the French were broken by the furious charge of count Egmont at the head of the cavalry, and their boaſted men at arms ſought ſhelter in a precipitate flight. Abandoned by the horſe, the foot were not able much longer to ſuſtain the unequal conflict; above four thouſand periſhed on the field; and the conſtable, after defending himſelf with the moſt heroic courage, and receiving a dangerous wound, was made priſoner, with the dukes of Montpenſier and Longueville, and the mareſchal St. Andre.

The defeat of St. Quintin ſcarce diffuſed leſs conſternation throughout France than the fatal battles of Crecy and Azincourt; the trembling inhabitants of Paris prepared to quit a capital which they hourly expected would be inſulted

by the preſence of the enemy; amidſt the general diſmay, Henry alone preſerved an undaunted countenance; he inſtantly recalled the duke of Guiſe from Italy; he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the grand ſignior, and he incited the Scots to invade the north of England, and diſtract the attention of Mary. A more immediate recourſe was found in commanding the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces immediately to take the field; but all theſe precautions and efforts would have proved vain, had Philip liſtened to the advice of the duke of Savoy, to relinguiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin, and march directly towards Paris; that monarch, naturally cautious, was afraid of committing his forces in the heart of France without a ſingle place to retreat to, he adviſed therefore the continuance of the ſiege of St. Quintin; and his generals more readily acquieſced in his opinion, as they imagined the town could not hold out many hours; but the courage of Coligny roſe in proportion to the exigency and danger. Fruitful in reſources, each moment ſeemed to diſplay ſome new expedient; for ſeventeen days he baffled the repeated aſſaults of the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the Engliſh; at length all oppoſition was overwhelmed by their ſuperior numbers, and Coligny himſelf was taken priſoner on the breach.

But Henry had availed himſelf with the utmoſt activity of the interval afforded by the admiral's obſtinate reſiſtance. The duke of Guiſe rapidly advanced from Italy to check the progreſs of Philip; he was received in France as the guardian angel of that kingdom; and the confidence which the king repoſed in him, was juſtified by his zeal and enterpriſing ſpirit. The army with which he returned was joined by new levies, and ſwelled by reinforcements from Germany and Switzerland. Its numbers, and the reputation of its general, made Philip tremble for his new conqueſts; when the duke of Guiſe ſuddenly turned, from menacing the frontier towns of Flanders, to undertake a more arduous and important enterprize.

A. D. 1558. Calais had been taken by the Engliſh under Edward the Third, and was the only place they retained of their ancient and extenſive territories in France. But Mary and her miniſters, from an injudicious œconomy, had neglected the works, and diſmiſſed the greater part of the garriſon. The duke of Guiſe was appriſed of theſe circumſtances, and the rigour of winter did not deter him from the daring deſign; he ſuddenly inveſted the town, drove the Engliſh from the forts which protected it, and in eight days reſtored Calais to the dominion

of

of the French, after it had been ſubject to England for two hundred and ten years. Henry imitated on this occaſion the policy of its former conqueror; he carefully expelled the Engliſh inhabitants, and new peopled the town with his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by various immunities.

On the retreat of the duke of Guiſe, the pope had indeed ſigned a treaty of peace, and reconciled himſelf to Philip; but Henry found ſufficient conſolation for this deſertion in the marriage of the dauphin to Mary queen of Scotland; that princeſs had been long ſince affianced to Francis, and the nuptials were now celebrated with unuſual ſplendour. But the Scots in the articles of marriage took every precaution that prudence could dictate to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country.

With the return of ſpring, the contending armies renewed their operations; the duke of Guiſe inveſted, and reduced after a ſiege of three weeks, Thionville in the duchy of Luxembourg. But this acquiſition was more than counterbalanced by an event that had happened in another part of the Low Countries. The mareſchal de Termes, governor of Calais, had penetrated into Flanders, ſtormed Dunkirk, and advanced to Nieuport, when his career was checked by the

approach of the count of Egmont, with a ſuperior force. De Termes, encumbered with his ſpoils, endeavoured to retreat, but he was overtaken by the rapidity of the count, and compelled to engage near Gravelines. The deſperate valour of the French held victory for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; when a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, drawn to the coaſt by the firing, entered the Aa, and turned their guns upon the right wing of the army of de Termes; the ſpirits of the Flemings revived with this aſſiſtance, and the rout of the French became univerſal. Two thouſand were killed on the ſpot; a greater number in their flight periſhed by the hands of the enraged peaſantry; and the mareſchal de Termes, with many officers of diſtinction, were taken priſoners.

A. D. 1558. The duke of Guiſe, on intelligence
1559. of this diſaſter, relinquiſhed all other ſchemes, and haſtened to the defence of the frontier of Picardy, while the duke of Savoy affected a junction with the forces of the count of Egmont. Each monarch placed himſelf at the head of his reſpective army, and as they were now only ſeparated by a few leagues, it was hourly expected that a deciſive action would determine the fortune of the royal rivals. Yet both Philip and Henry continued carefully to fortify their

camps,

camps, and diſcovered by their inaction their inclinations for peace. For half a century their kingdoms had been mutually exhauſted by the operations of war. The former was impatient to viſit Spain; the latter was influenced by the paſſions of the ducheſs of Valentinois, who regarded with diſguſt the haughtineſs of the duke of Guiſe and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, and was inclined to thwart their meaſures and obſtruct their glory. By her perſuaſion, Montmorency, ſtill a priſoner, and eager to regain his liberty, was entruſted with the delicate negociations; Philip readily liſtened to his propoſals; a definitive treaty was ſigned at Cateau in Cambreſis; the duke of Savoy recovered the territories which France had wreſted from him in Piedmont, Savoy, and Breſſe. Corſica was ceded to the Genoeſe; but Heſdin, Catelet, and Noyon, were reſtored to the French, who alſo retained Calais, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The death of Mary had diſſolved the connections of Philip with England; and by a ſeparate treaty with her ſucceſſor Elizabeth, Henry engaged at the end of eight years to deliver up Calais, or to forfeit the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1559. The duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, arraigned the late treaty

treaty in the moſt open manner, as humiliating and diſgraceful to France. But their influence expired on the return of Montmorency; and the conſtable, ſupported by the ducheſs of Valentinois, reſumed his former aſcendancy over the mind of his royal maſter. Henry himſelf had cloſed with the overtures of peace, that he might the more effectually repreſs the religious opinions of the reformers, which were ſpreading with rapidity throughout his dominions. D'Andelot, the brother of Coligny, and the nephew of the conſtable, was juſtly accuſed as a proſelyte to the doctrines of Calvin. In the preſence of his ſovereign he preſumed to acknowledge his ſentiments; he was immediately deprived of his poſt of general of the French infantry, committed to cloſe confinement, and only reſtored by ſubmiſſion, and the entreaties of his uncle. Throughout the capital, and the different provinces, the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt the profeſſors of Lutheraniſm, five of the moſt obſtinate were ſent to the Baſtile, and orders were iſſued for their immediate and rigorous proſecution.

The active zeal of a monarch, in the vigour of his age, and neither deſtitute of capacity or firmneſs, might perhaps have vanquiſhed the ſcruples of his ſubjects, and preſerved his king-

dom

dom from the calamities of civil commotion, inflamed by religious rancour; but the deſigns of Henry, and the hopes of the eſtabliſhed church, were extinguiſhed by a fatal and unexpected accident. Emanuel duke of Savoy had arrived at Paris, to be preſent at the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, who by an article of the late treaty was affianced to the king of Spain, and whoſe nuptials were celebrated at Paris by proxy, with martial magnificence. Jouſts and tournaments had on this occaſion been proclaimed by Henry, who excelled in every perſonal accompliſhment; he had already gived ſignal proofs of his proweſs, when on the laſt day he was deſirous of breaking a lance againſt Gabriel de Lorges, count de Montgomery, and who was diſtinguiſhed above any other nobleman for his ſuperior addreſs in theſe combats. Montgomery, at the command of his ſovereign, entered the liſts with avowed reluctance. The ſhock was rude on both ſides, but the count's lance breaking againſt the king's helmet, he attacked Henry with the ſtump; it entered the eye brow of his right eye, and the monarch bereaved of ſpeech and underſtanding fell inſtantly to the ground. He was conveyed to his palace, and after remaining in a ſtate of inſenſibility for eleven days, expired in the ſix-

teenth

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teenth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age; leaving by his wife Catherine of Medicis ſeven children, the eldeſt of whom Francis the Second, was only entered into his ſeventeenth year,

Chapter the Twenty-ſixth.

FRANCIS THE SECOND SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE —CHARACTER OF CATHERINE OF MEDICIS AND THE GUISES—OF THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY, THE KING OF NAVARRE, THE PRINCE OF CONDE, AND THE ADMIRAL COLIGNY—PERSECUTION OF THE HUGONOTS—CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE—IMPRISONMENT AND CONDEMNATION OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE—DEATH OF FRANCIS.

THE age of Francis, on the death of his father, qualified him immediately to have aſſumed the reigns of government; but his feeble body was animated by a mind more feeble; and incapable of ſtate affairs, he reſigned himſelf to the abſolute controul of his mother, Catherine of Medicis, and of the Guiſes, the uncles of his queen, Mary of Scotland. A. D. 1559.

Catherine of Medicis, from her rank as mother to

to the young king, might juſtly urge her ſuperior pretenſions to power. Her rival, Diana de Poitiers, on the death of Henry, abandoned by the minions of her proſperity, had ſunk into obſcurity, and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her days in retirement. The talents of Catherine, which had been overſhadowed by the charms of Diana, now ſhone forth in full luſtre. Bold, enterpriſing, and ſagacious, her courage was never diſconcerted, and her penetration was ſeldom eluded. Inſinuating in her manners, magnificent in her diſpoſition, and liberal to profuſion; a generous patroneſs of the arts and ſciences, amidſt the horrors of war, ſhe foſtered and protected the ſeeds of learning, which had been introduced in the reigns of Francis and Henry; but reverſe the medal, and ſhe was cruel, rapacious, and deceitful; profligate in her morals, and unbounded in her ambition; without ſentiment, without feeling, without religion, her prejudices and her paſſions, were equally abſorbed by an inordinate luſt of dominion.

The duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, as the uncles of Mary of Scotland, found an eaſy acceſs to the perſon of their ſovereign, and might claim with propriety the firſt employments of the ſtate. The former by the defence of Metz, and the recovery of Calais, had eſtabliſhed his mi-

litary

litary renown, and ſecured the attachment of the army; his humanity, courteſy, and liberality, equally endeared him to the people; zealous for the eſtabliſhed religion, his ambition might have been reſtrained by duty and gratitude, had it not been inflamed by his brother the cardinal of Lorrain. That prelate was venerated by the clergy as the guardian of their immunities, and by the catholics as the champion of their faith; verſed in the wiles of courts, fruitful in expedients, and eloquent in debate, he was too readily elated by ſucceſs, and too eaſily depreſſed by defeat. His perſonal courage was ever doubted; his vindictive temper was ever dreaded; and the diſſolute pleaſures of his private life, vied with the preſumption of his public conduct.

To oppoſe three ſuch formidable candidates for miniſterial power, the conſtable Montmorency, grown grey in the ſervice of Francis and Henry, could only rely on the merit of former actions, and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity. Haughty and inflexible in his diſpoſition, ſevere to the failings of others and to his own, he was ill calculated for thoſe delicate intrigues which require a flexible temper and inſinuating addreſs. Accuſtomed to be placed at the head of affairs, he regarded it as his due; yet his ardour for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed religion, prevented him from

from embracing the only means by which he could attain it, a ſtrict alliance with the princes of the blood.

Of theſe Anthony of Bourbon king of Navarre, was the firſt, and derived additional luſtre from his pretenſions to that kingdom, and an increaſe of conſequence from the poſſeſſion of Bearn. Nature had endowed him with a diſpoſition mild, humane, and eaſily wrought on; but had denied the commanding genius requiſite to curb the aſpiring ſpirits of the age. Timid and irreſolute, he fluctuated between the two religions of catholic and hugonot; and indulgent to the pleaſures of love, his political engagements were often diſſolved by the charms of the fair.

From this ſtain the character of his brother Lewis, prince of Condè, was not free; and though his perſon was ungraceful and diminutive, he received from women the moſt flattering proofs of their affection; but an amorous complexion was the only foil to qualities the moſt ſplendid, and virtues the moſt heroic. Of high and determined courage, he was formed to ſhine in camps as well as courts; and though his income was narrow, he diſplayed a magnificence of temper worthy his birth and ſtation. He had early attached himſelf to the doctrines of the reformed, from which no arts could allure him; and his ſteadineſs to thoſe religious

religious principles might probably be confirmed by the oppoſite conduct in the duke of Guiſe, whom he conſidered through life as the rival of his fame and fortune.

The admiral Coligny had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defence of St. Quintin; but his perſonal courage was the leaſt of the numerous qualities which adorned him. He, of all the chiefs, perhaps alone, from conviction, had renounced the errors of the church of Rome, and embraced the doctrines of Calvin. Brave, generous, and ſincere, he was actuated by no ſelfiſh views, he was impelled by no baſe or private paſſions. To obtain liberty of conſcience for himſelf, and for thoſe who profeſſed the ſame tenets, was all that he required; and it was with the reluctance of a patriot that he found himſelf compelled to ſeek it amidſt the horrors of civil war. The pious ſcruples of his brother d'Andelot had already expoſed him to the diſpleaſure of the late king; and zealous in the cauſe of religious freedom, he ſeemed to court danger with an enthuſiaſtic valour.

Such were the characters deſtined to extort our admiration, amidſt the calamities with which their intriguing genius, wild ambition, or intemperate zeal, afflicted their country. The feeble monarch himſelf, was obſcured by the ſhining talents of his

ſubjects; and when the deputies of the parliament waited on Francis to expreſs their duty and allegiance to his perſon, he informed them that he had thought proper to inveſt the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain with the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs, aſſigning to the former the military department, and the finances to the latter.

Had the king of Navarre liſtened to the importunities of the conſtable Montmorency, and immediately on the diſaſtrous fate of Henry, preſented himſelf at court, his rank, as firſt prince of the blood, might have overawed and baffled the ſchemes of his adverſaries; but Anthony, who was by nature irreſolute, and peculiarly diſtruſtful of Montmorency, to whom he imputed the dereliction of his rights at the late peace, advanced by ſlow journies, and arrived not, till the conſtable was diſmiſſed from his office of maſter of the houſehold, to his ſeat at Chantilly; his own reception, with that of his brother the prince of Condè, was cold and diſreſpectful; yet both conſented to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed at Rheims by the cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of that ſee; and the king of Navarre was ſoon after perſuaded by Catherine of Medicis to conduct the princeſs Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain, and was afterwards detained in Bearn,

with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negociation, with which he was amuſed by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

On the retreat of that prince, Catherine and the Guiſes no longer affected to conceal thoſe deſigns which they had ſo long meditated; every precaution to enſure the obedience of the people, and to deprive them of the means of defence, had been already taken. An edict appeared, forbidding any perſon to carry fire arms, or to wear any dreſs favourable to the concealment of ſuch weapons. Coligny, whoſe high ſpirit and commanding genius was peculiarly dreaded, was aimed at by a ſecond regulation, which declared that no perſon ſhould hold two poſts at the ſame time; the admiral immediately reſigned the government of Picardy; but the pretenſions of the prince of Condè were diſregarded, and that province was entruſted to the mareſchal Briſac, while the duke of Guiſe ſucceeded to the office of maſter of the houſehold, of which the conſtable had been diſpoſſeſſed.

Such were the meaſures preparatory to the perſecution of the proteſtants, who about this time began firſt to be ſtyled Hugonots; but no ſooner was the ground cleared before them, than the councils of Catherine and the Guiſes were diſtin-

guiſhed by a more ſanguinary and deciſive ſpirit. Courts of eccleſiaſtical judicature, inveſted with inquiſitorial powers, were erected, which took cognizance of hereſy; and they were denominated the *Chambres Ardentes*, from the ſeverity of the puniſhments which they inflicted. The ſtricteſt ſearch was made to diſcover offenders; the moſt flagitious crimes were ſtudiouſly imputed to their nightly aſſemblies; and every orthodox catholic was taught to regard them with abhorrence. The rigour which prevailed in the capital was ſoon extended to the provinces; and the proſelytes to calviniſm, after fruitleſs appeals to their blameleſs conduct, found themſelves compelled to ſeek ſafety in reſiſtance. The numbers of troops which had been diſbanded at the late peace, beſieged the court with clamours for that recompenſe which they thought due to their ſervices; the cardinal of Lorrain, wearied with their importunities, and unable to ſatisfy their demands, commanded them to retire, on pain of being inſtantly hung upon a gallows erected for that purpoſe; and by his inſolent brutality alienated the minds of theſe military adventurers from the houſe of Guiſe, and at the ſame time ſtrengthened the hands, and ſwelled the partizans of the hugonots.

Theſe began already to bear with impatience the repeated inſults and unwearied malice of their per-

perſecutors; their confidence was increaſed by the alarming ſymptoms of decay which menaced the life of Francis. Minard, a magiſtrate who had diſplayed peculiar activity in the ſeizure and conviction of the proteſtants, was ſuddenly aſſaſſinated. Though it never could be diſcovered with certainty from what hand the blow came, yet Robert Stuart, a native of Scotland, incurred the ſuſpicion of the court. He in vain beſought the protection of Mary, to whom he declared himſelf related; that princeſs denied him as her kinſman, and rather ſtimulated than repreſſed the fury of his proſecutors. The ſecurity that he vainly expected from the favour of his ſovereign, he found in his own conſtancy; nor could the ſevereſt tortures extort a confeſſion from a boſom ſteeled by conſcious innocence, or animated by religious zeal. He was at laſt reluctantly diſmiſſed by the judges, to maintain in future by his valour the tenets which he profeſſed

The ſeeds of diſcontent were widely diffuſed throughout the kingdom, and A. D. 1560. the breath of an able leader was only wanted to wake them into life. This was found in a gentleman of Perigord, named John de Bary la Renaudie, of an ancient family, but of a ruined fortune; he had been caſt in a law ſuit, and condemned to a ſevere fine and baniſhment, for having

having produced fictitious titles. He endeavoured, in foreign countries, to reſtore the reputation which he had ſo fatally wounded in his own. He retired to Geneva and Lauſanne, imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation; and among his exiled countrymen acquired an high and juſt character for intrepidity, eloquence, ſagacity, and that enterpriſing genius ſo peculiarly requiſite in the leader of a conſpiracy. Under a feigned name, and in diſguiſe, he traverſed the different provinces of France, explored the hopes, and inflamed the reſentments of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religious principles with himſelf; and at length appointed a general rendezvous at Nantes, where the parliament of Brittany was at that time ſitting. From various parts of the kingdom, above two hundred gentlemen of noble extraction, and conſiderable influence in their reſpective diſtricts, attended his ſummons; and Renaudie, in glowing colours, preſented to their view the arrogance and formidable power of the Guiſes, the weakneſs of the king, the dangerous artifices of Catherine, the wrongs of the proteſtants; and their juſt hopes that the prince of Condè would readily place himſelf at the head of an aſſociation, which alone could afford him ſecurity, as ſoon as it attained a certain degree of ſtrength; but he at the ſame time ſolemnly proteſted to preſerve

his

his allegiance to Francis inviolable; and that it was only his intention to liberate the kingdom from the tyranny of the Guiſes. His ſpeech was received with univerſal approbation; the conſpirators agreed to aſſemble their dependants; by different and private roads to meet at Blois, where the court then reſided; to preſent a petition to the king to indulge them in the free exerciſe of their religious tenets; and to ſeize the perſons of the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, as enemies to the kingdom and to the public tranquillity.

But it was not probable that a ſecret, confided to ſo many, would be preſerved with the fidelity that ſo delicate an enterpriſe required. The court, from different quarters, were warned of near and formidable danger; at length the particulars of the conſpiracy were divulged by a proteſtant lawyer, at whoſe houſe in Paris Renaudie had lodged, and to whom he had imparted his deſigns. To diſconcert the ſchemes of their enemies, the Guiſes immediately removed Francis from Blois to the caſtle of Amboiſe, as a place more capable of defence; under the royal ſignature they commanded the inſtant attendance of the prince of Condè, the admiral Coligny, and his brother d'Andelot; and the prompt obedience of theſe powerful chiefs al-

layed the fears of the court, and evinced, whatever might be their private wiſhes, that they had not openly embarked in the daring project of Renaudie. The duke of Guiſe himſelf, to provide againſt every emergency, was created lieutenant general, with ſupreme power in all cauſes, civil and military; an appointment, which was oppoſed by the chancellor Olivier, but ſupported by Catherine of Medicis; who rightly judged the effuſion of blood which muſt neceſſarily attend the exerciſe of ſuch unqualified authority in theſe turbulent times, would ſerve to load the poſſeſſor of it with additional odium.

Though Renaudie was conſcious that his plans were betrayed, and that the court was prepared, he deferred, but did not deſiſt from, his daring enterpriſe; and ſeveral of the conſpirators, marching in ſmall bands, and only during the night, appeared at the gates, and ſtruck terror through the caſtle of Amboiſe; they were repulſed, and cut to pieces by the loyal zeal of the inhabitants, guided by the ſkill, and animated by the ſpirit of the duke of Guiſe. Several parties of the confederates were intercepted, and the baron de Caſtelnau, at the head of a conſiderable body of the calviniſts, was inveſted in the caſtle of Noiſy, by the ſuperior forces of the duke of Nemours, and ſurrendered on promiſe of life for himſelf

himſelf and his aſſociates. Renaudie informed of the danger of Caſtelnau, with a few deſperate companions, preſſed forwards to ſhare his fortune. In the foreſt of Chateau-Renaud he was met by the baron de Pardaillon, at the head of two hundred cavalry; he defended himſelf with a bravery heightened by deſpair; and after beholding the ſlaughter of almoſt the whole of his party, he ſpurred his horſe up to Pardaillon, and thruſting a poinard through his vizor, laid him dead upon the ground. He himſelf was immediately after ſhot through the thigh, and died fighting deſperately to the laſt. His body was publicly expoſed on a gibbet, and a label affixed to it, with the inſcription of *Chief of the Rebels*, and his diſmembered limbs were afterwards left to putrify on ſtakes in the neighbourhood of Amboiſe.

Yet the fate of Renaudie, and the unrelenting ſeverity of the Guiſes, could not extinguiſh that flame which religion had kindled, and which has conſtantly been found to derive new force from perſecution. In a few days after their leader had fallen, la Mothe and Coqueville, two of the conſpirators appeared at the gates, and penetrated into the ſuburbs of Amboiſe. They were overwhelmed by the numbers of the royal forces, and combating with a reſolution that only religious frenzy could inſpire, they were buried under the

ruins of the burning houſes. This ſecond attempt ſtimulated the ardour of juſtice; each haunt of the conſpirators was explored; twelve hundred expired under the hands of the executioner; the waters of the Loire were purpled with their blood; and the air was tainted with their wretched carcaſes which were denied the rites of burial.

But the deſtruction of the obſcure multitude ſatiated not the vengeance of the perſecutors of the reformed. The aſſurances of ſafety which Caſtelnau had received from the duke of Nemours, and the interceſſion of the moſt reſpectable noblemen of the court, could not preſerve him from the implacable enmity of the princes of Lorrain; he ſubmitted to his ſentence with compoſed courage, and rejected every temptation that was held out to include the prince of Condè as his accomplice; a declaration to that effect had been extorted by torture from two of his companions; but Caſtelnau firmly refuted the aſperſion, and in the laſt moments of his life aſſerted the innocence of the prince.

In the preſence of the king, the prince of Condè vindicated his honour from the late imputation, and with the intrepidity natural to him, offered to maintain his innocence in ſingle combat againſt his accuſer. The duke of Guiſe, at whom this defiance was levelled, eluded the challenge,

lenge, by warmly praiſing the prince's conduct, and declaring that he was ready to be his ſecond againſt any antagoniſt; yet in private he urged the propriety of ſecuring a chief whoſe birth, genius, and ſpirit, rendered him capable of the moſt daring enterpriſes. Francis perhaps would have been eaſily wrought to compliance; but the chancellor Olivier, about this time, ſunk into the grave, lamenting, with his laſt breath, the ſanguinary ſcenes to which he had been witneſs. The ſeals on his demiſe were beſtowed on Michael de l'Hoſpital, an able miniſter, but devoted to the queen-mother. He ſuggeſted to her the danger of the Guiſes acquiring a permanent aſcendancy, and confirmed her in that ſyſtem of temporizing policy ſo happily adapted to her genius and diſpoſition. In conſequence of his counſels, Catherine ſecretly ſupported the prince of Condè and the hugonots; but a ſhort time after the execution of Caſtelnau, an aſſembly of the nobility was convened at Fontainbleau; the conſtable, the admiral, and his brother d'Andelot, attended with a numerous train of adherents; and Coligny entering the cabinet of his ſovereign, preſented a petition for the toleration of the reformed religion; adding, that although no name was affixed to it, whenever his majeſty would ſignify his pleaſure, it would be ſigned by one hundred and fifty

fifty thouſand perſons. It was oppoſed with the utmoſt aſperity by the Guiſes, but their violence was checked by the ſecret ſuggeſtions of Catherine, and Francis declared his intention of aſſembling the ſtates in the enſuing December, to reconcile all religious differences.

On the concluſion of this council, the king of Navarre, and his brother the prince of Condè, who had attended it, withdrew into Bearn, where doubtful of the promiſed convention of the ſtates, they concerted meaſures to diſpoſſeſs the Guiſes of their power and offices; but the diſpoſition of the former, always irreſolute, revoked his aſſent, and diſconcerted a ſcheme which had been planned by the adherents of the latter, for ſurpriſing the city of Lyons; yet the intrigues of the princes were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but they ſoon reached the ears of the court. Catherine, alarmed at their preſumption, again united herſelf to the Guiſes; and an emiſſary belonging to the king of Navarre, named la Sague, was ſeized at Eſtampes, by order of the queen-mother; the letters which he carried, contained expreſſions dark and myſterious; thoſe of Francis de Vendome, Vidame of Chartres were, by the perſonal enmity of the Guiſes, conſtrued into treaſon; that nobleman, the moſt gallant of the court, and who had been deemed peculiarly acceptable to the

the queen-mother, now experienced the tranſition of paſſions, and beheld her regard converted into hatred, which ſuffered him to languiſh out his life in confinement.

But while the princes of the houſe of Bourbon maintained their liberty, the power of Catherine and the Guiſes was expoſed to be ſhaken by every rude blaſt; and the court, fearful of venturing on open hoſtilities, determined to ſacrifice the faith of the ſovereign, rather than hazard the tranquillity of the kingdom. The aſſembly of the ſtates, which had been appointed for Meaux, was now transferred to Orleans; and the young king, whoſe health hourly declined, and whoſe impending diſſolution haſtened the deſigns of the Guiſes, proceeded towards that city with a train of a thouſand horſe. The Mareſchal de St Andrè, brave, polite, and inſinuating, but needy, diſſipated, and unprincipled, and chained by his wants to the ſervice of the houſe of Lorrain, was diſpatched to the king of Navarre and his brother with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of amity: they reluctantly ſat out on a journey which was pregnant with the greateſt danger; and in the courſe of which they received intimations of the moſt alarming nature; each day added ſome new proof of the impetuous counſels of the Guiſes, and of the too ready acquieſcence of the eaſy monarch;

but

but they had advanced now too far to recede; different parties had been ſtationed on the road behind to intercept their retreat or flight; and with a ſlender train, but an undaunted countenance, they at length entered the city of Orleans.

On entering the royal preſence, they were at firſt received by Francis with coldneſs, which gave way to reproaches. The king ſeated between their enemies the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, and, ſurrounded by the captains of his guard, arraigned the prince of Condè in the moſt violent terms, accuſed him of having attempted to ſeize on the principal cities of his dominions, and even having plotted againſt his life, and that of his brothers. Condè, not in the leaſt diſmayed, offered to prove his innocence. "To aſcertain it," replied Francis, "it is neceſſary to proceed by the uſual modes of juſtice;" he immediately quitted the room, and after a ſhort conference with Catherine, who with her uſual duplicity affected to deplore the violence which ſhe herſelf recommended, the two princes were arreſted by the captains of the guard; the king of Navarre was conducted to an adjoining apartment, where, though carefully watched, he was allowed the liberty of converſation; but the prince of Condè was confined in a houſe erected for the purpoſe in a public ſquare,

where

where all hopes of eſcape was ſhut out by bars of iron; and all idea of reſcue precluded, by a numerous and vigilant guard, protected by ſeveral pieces of cannon.

The Hugonots received with terror and aſtoniſhment the intelligence of a meaſure in which they were ſo deeply concerned; d'Andelot, with his uſual ſagacity had foreſeen the ſtorm, and under the pretence of chaſtiſing the diſobedience of ſome officers under his command, had withdrawn to Brittany; his brother the admiral, bold in conſcious innocence, ſtill remained in Orleans; but he owed his ſafety rather to the appearance of moderation, which the Guiſes ſtill affected to preſerve, and to the dread of rendering deſperate the whole body of the reformed, than to the blameleſs tenor of his own conduct.

But with the prince of Condè, every thing proclaimed the reſolution of the houſe of Lorrain to ſeize the preſent moment, and to extinguiſh the formidable rival of their fame and fortunes. The chancellor and five judges were appointed to interrogate him in priſon; but the gloomy reſtraint to which he was comdemned, could not ſhake the magnanimous mind of Lewis; he rejected with indignation the ſubſervient tribunal, and boldly demanded that public trial to which his dignity entitled him. His undaunted courage

ſecured

ſecured his reputation, but could not have averted the malice of his enemies; Groſlot, the bailiff of Orleans, who was ſuſpected of endeavouring to excite the compaſſion of the inhabitants in favour of the prince, was accuſed of conniving at the meetings of the heretics; he was tried, condemned, and executed; and his fate was conſidered only as preparatory to that of Condè.

Catherine in vain ſaw the error that ſhe had committed in uniting herſelf too cloſely with the princes of Lorrain, and deſtroying that balance of parties that gave conſequence to her own ſituation. Borne away with the ſtream, ſhe was no longer capable of reſiſtance; and the fate of the prince of Condè appeared inevitable, when he was preſerved from the impending ſtroke by an event as momentous as it was unexpected. The king on the morning of Groſlot's execution had gone out to the chace; on his return he was ſeized with a violent pain in his head, attended with fainting. It was ſoon diſcovered that an impoſthume had formed in his ear, and the ſurgeons pronounced the ſymptoms mortal. The Guiſes, impatient of every delay, and apprehenſive leſt their prey ſhould eſcape them, hurried on the proceſs with an indecent haſte which ſwept away every form of juſtice; and the prince of Condè was condemned by his judges to have his head

head ſtruck off on a ſcaffold before the king's apartment.

But the chancellōr, ever averſe to theſe violent meaſures, and ſenſible of the danger which might ariſe from the execution of ſo iniquitous a ſentence, withheld, under various pretences, his ſignature to the order for the prince's execution; to this delay the prince of Condè was indebted for his life; for while the Guiſes ſtill aſſailed Francis with inceſſant importunities, the feeble frame of that monarch yielded to the inveteracy of his diſeaſe, and he expired in the eighteenth year of his age and the ſecond of his reign. His character preſents a blameleſs void, unmarked by virtue or vice, and his languid diſpoſition appears to have been equally incapable of diſcharging the duties of his rank, or enjoying the pleaſures of his age. Amidſt the various cabals of his court, his corpſe was indecently neglected; Catherine and the Guiſes were engaged in extending or confirming their influence; and the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were only attended by Sanſac and la Broſſe, who had been his governors, and Guillard, biſhop of Senlis, who had long been blind.

Chapter the Twenty-ſeventh.

CHARLES THE NINTH, KING OF FRANCE—CATHERINE SECURES THE REGENCY—MASSACRE OF VASSY—REVOLT OF THE HUGONOTS—BATTLE OF ST. DENIS, AND DEATH OF MONTMORENCY—BATTLE OF JARNAC, AND DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE—PEACE WITH THE HUGONOTS—MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW—CIVIL WAR—DEATH OF CHARLES THE NINTH.

A. D. 1560. THE death of Francis, and the
1561. ſucceſſion of Charles the Ninth, then only in the eleventh year of his age, opened a new and boundleſs field to the intriguing genius of Catherine of Medicis. Courted mutually by the princes of Bourbon and Lorrain, ſhe diſplayed that maſterly addreſs for which ſhe was ſo eminent, in ſecuring for herſelf the firſt place in the government. Mary, the widow of the deceaſed

ceaſed monarch, ſoon retired to her native kingdom of Scotland. The prince of Condè, releaſed from his fetters, was pronounced guiltleſs of the crimes laid to his charge, and re-admitted to his ſeat in council; the king of Navarre obtained the title of lieutenant general; but the powers of regent, though without the name, were veſted by the ſtates in the queen-mother. To ſecure her authority, ſhe attached to her ſide the conſtable Montmorency; ſhe united in a cloſe confederacy that veteran ſtateſman, the duke of Guiſe and the mareſchal de St. Andre; and by this league, to which was applied the name of the *Triumvirate*, ſhe hoped to repreſs the aſpiring deſigns of the princes of Bourbon, who ſupported by Coligni, and ſeconded by the hearts and hands of the reformed, might, ſhe feared, affix limits to the authority ſhe panted after.

But Catherine herſelf experienced the fate that attends thoſe who relinquiſh the plain road to tread the crooked paths of policy, and was ſoon bewildered in the mazes of her own cunning and artifice. The ceremony of Charles's coronation was ſcarce performed at Rheims, before his mother began to regard with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt the very confederacy ſhe had ſo lately formed. She attempted to balance it by another of equal political weight: ſhe allured Anthony king of

Navarre by the charms of mademoiſelle de Rouet, one of her maids of honour, to renounce his claim to the regency as firſt prince of the blood; and ſhe gratified the admiral Coligni by avowedly patroniſing the doctrines and followers of Calvin. The Triumvirate, diſguſted at the loſs of their credit, and at the preference ſhewn to the hugonots, under pretence of attachment to the ancient religion, quitted the court, and drew along with them the fickle and credulous king of Navarre, by a promiſe, which they pretended to have received from the king of Spain, of ceding to him the iſland of Sardinia as a compenſation for the kingdom of Navarre.

A. D. 1562. Although Anthony and the triumvirate ſeemed entirely to have abandoned the court, and to leave Catherine to the counſels of the prince of Condè and Coligni, they only waited a favourable opportunity of regaining their former influence; while the prince and admiral, ſenſible of the motives which actuated the queen-mother, and induced her apparently to lean to the proteſtants, prepared to encounter the tempeſt of her future enmity by a ſtrict alliance with the princes of Germany.

Such was the doubtful ſituation of affairs; and each party, in the tranſient moments of tranquillity, was diligently employed in ſtrengthening their

their own pretenſions, when a fatal accident haſtened the rupture between the factions, and let looſe the united rage of perſonal and religious rancour. The duke of Guiſe returning towards Paris, to animate by his preſence the inhabitants, had halted at Vaſſy, a little town of Champagne. His attendants inſulted a congregation of proteſtants, who were aſſembled at their devotions; the followers of the duke were repulſed by the reformed with ſtones, and as he himſelf attempted to quell the diſpute, he was wounded in the face. His domeſtics, enraged at the ſight of their maſter's blood, drew their ſwords, and killed and wounded above two hundred and fifty of the Hugonots. When the tumult was over, the duke of Guiſe ſeverely reprehended the magiſtrate for ſuffering theſe aſſemblies; and on his pleading the late royal edict in favour of the calviniſts, he laid his hand on his ſword, and angrily replied, "this ſhall ſoon cut the bond of that edict though "never ſo ſtrong."

The prince of Condè, then with the court at the palace of Monceaux, demanded inſtant reparation for the maſſacre at Vaſſy; and the queen-mother as readily promiſed him the moſt ample ſatisfaction; but the king of Navarre and the triumvirate, confident in their own union, rejected her authority, and derided her commands. The

duke of Guiſe himſelf ſoon after arrived at Paris with twelve hundred horſe; in his march to Fontainbleau his forces were ſwelled by a prodigious train of adherents; and Catherine fearful of being deprived of the ſupreme management of affairs, ſummoned to her aſſiſtance the prince of Condè then at his ſeat near Meaux; her language, animated and pathetic, exhorted him ſtrongly to reſcue her ſon from captivity, and afforded him the pretence he wiſhed for to arm his aſſociates. With a ſmall, but daring, band he paſſed the river Seine at St Cloud, in his way to join her; but though the confederate lords might deſpiſe his inferior numbers, they gladly embraced the occaſion to make themſelves maſters of the king's perſon, under the pretext of reſcuing him from the enterpriſes of the Hugonots; Catherine, incapable of reſiſtance, vainly lamented the conſequence of her own wiles: nor could the impotent tears of the royal youth change the deſigns of the confederates, who conducted him, with his indignant mother, firſt to Milan, and afterwards to the capital.

But the retreat of the king, and the difficulties which preſented themſelves, ſerved to inflame inſtead of damping the ardour of the prince of Condè; after conferring a few moments with the admiral, he embraced as his only hope of honour-

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able ſecurity, the dangers of civil war; accompanied by two thouſand cavalry, he preſſed forwards to Orleans and inſtantly made himſelf maſter of that city. He was immediately choſen chief of the reformed by unanimous conſent, and neglected no precautions which could contribute to ſucceſs; he diſpatched meſſengers to Germany, to ſolicit the aid of the proteſtant brethren; and he conciliated the minds of the loyal, by the declaration that he took up arms to relieve the king and his mother from the captivity in which they were held by the Triumvirate.

The chancellor de l'Hoſpital yet laboured to avert the tempeſt which impended over his country; by his exhortations two fruitleſs conferences were held between Catherine and the prince of Condè. The latter in the firſt engaged to quit the kingdom, if his enemies would conſent to relinquiſh the adminiſtration; the triumvirs had previouſly given a promiſe to that effect, and affected to perform it by retiring to Chateau-Dun. But Coligni, always jealous of the intentions of the queen-mother, and conſcious of the danger to the hugonots if abandoned by their chief, perſuaded him to break off the treaty, and rather truſt to arms, than to the doubtful faith of Catherine.

The operations of war were immediately com-

menced; the royal army, animated by the preſence of Charles and his mother, after recovering and plundering, Blois, Tours, and Bourges, inveſted Rouen, which was defended with obſtinate valour by Montgomery, celebrated for his fatal tournament with Henry the Second; and who had withdrawn from the implacable reſentment of Catherine to England, embraced the doctrines of the reformed, and now returned to vindicate them with his ſword. The inhabitants encouraged by his example, refuſed all offers of capitulation; at length the city was taken by aſſault, and abandoned to the fury and rapacity of the ſoldiers; Montgomery himſelf eſcaped with a few companions in a boat, by breaking the chains which were ſtretched acroſs the river Caudabec; but Anthony king of Navarre received in the courſe of the ſiege a wound in his ſhoulder, which ſoon proved mortal. He expired at a time when his judgment began to open, and when he was ſincerely deſirous of effacing the unfavourable opinions his fickle conduct had impreſſed. His laſt words evinced his attachment to the reformed religion; and he ordered thoſe who were near him to carry his injunctions to his widow, to be ever on her guard, to ſtrengthen the fortified parts ſhe poſſeſſed, and neither to truſt herſelf or her children at court.

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In the mean time the prince of Condè, reinforced by the proteſtant princes of Germany, with an army of twelve thouſand men, advanced towards the capital. After repeated attempts to intimidate the inhabitants, and ſurpriſe the gates of Paris, he decamped, and retired towards Normandy. In his retreat he was purſued and harraſſed by the forces of the confederates, and at Dreux in Normandy the rival armies engaged with mutual enmity. The impetuous charge of the hugonots at firſt trampled down all oppoſition; the conſtable Montmorency, wounded in the face, was taken priſoner by Robert Stuart, who already has been noticed as ſuſpected of the aſſaſſination of the catholic magiſtrate Minard. But the day was reſtored by the calm intrepidity of the duke of Guiſe; he ſuddenly fell upon and put to flight the hugonots diſperſed in the purſuit; the Prince of Condè, diſmounted and ſurrounded, ſurrendered to Henry d'Amville, the ſecond ſon of the conſtable; but Coligni ſtill maintained the combat with perſevering valour; under cover of the night he retreated with the troops that he had rallied towards Orleans; and carried with him two pieces of the royal cannon, and his captive Montmorency.

The victory of Dreux eſtabliſhed the martial fame of the duke of Guiſe; and his military renown

nown was rivalled by the politeneſs with which he received his captive the prince of Condè; he lodged him in his own tent, and even divided with him his bed. The ſame field in which he triumphed over his enemies, diminiſhed the number of his competitors. Of the Triumvirs the conſtable was a priſoner to Coligni; the mareſchal de St. Andre had fallen in the conflict by the hand of a gentleman named Bobigni, whoſe eſtate he enjoyed by confiſcation; and Catherine, though ſhe dreaded the riſing genius of the houſe of Lorrain, conferred on the victorious chief the ſupreme command of the army with which he had been already inveſted by the tumultuous acclamations of his ſoldiers.

A. D. 1563. After the diſaſtrous action of Dreux, Coligni had retired into Normandy, as moſt convenient to receive the ſupplies he expected from Elizabeth queen of England, who had eſtabliſhed in that kingdom the proteſtant religion, and viewed with jealouſy the danger to which it was expoſed in France. But the admiral in his retreat, conſcious of the importance of Orleans, had left in that city his brother d'Andelot, with two thouſand of his beſt troops; the reputation of the commander, the numbers of his garriſon, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, could not deter the duke of Guiſe from aſpiring

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to the conqueſt of Orleans, and he inveſted that city with his victorious army. A month had ſcarce elapſed before he had made himſelf maſter of the bridge acroſs the Loire, and the ſuburbs; and the fate of Orleans appeared inevitable, when one moment ſuddenly extinguiſhed the life of the duke of Guiſe, and revived the fainting ſpirits of the hugonots.

He had juſt paſſed the Loire in a little boat, attended only by one gentleman, and without his armour, when John Poltrot de Mere, a gentleman of Angoumois, who had pretended to renounce the reformed religion, and had been liberally entertained by the duke, diſcharged three balls from a piſtol into the left ſhoulder of Francis, and eſcaped on a ſwift horſe to the neighbouring woods. By his mournful friends, the duke of Guiſe was conveyed to his own quarters, and the magnanimity of his laſt moments correſponded with the whole tenor of his life. He recommended to his eldeſt ſon Henry to preſerve an inviolable fidelity to the king; he vindicated himſelf from the intention of the unfortunate maſſacre at Vaſſy; he lamented that event as the ſource of civil diſcord; and exhorted Catherine to extinguiſh the fatal flame which threatened to conſume equally the people and the ſovereign. With the moſt perfect compoſure he breathed his laſt; his body follow-

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ed by immenſe crowds of citizens, was borne in royal pomp to the Chartreux in Paris, and was finally depoſited with his anceſtors at Joinville, in Lorrain.

Poltrot eſcaped not the puniſhment due to ſo flagitious a crime; after wandering the whole night in the woods he found himſelf in the morning ſcarce a mile from Orleans; exhauſted with fatigue he entered a houſe to repoſe himſelf, and was taken while aſleep by one of the duke's ſecretaries. On his examination he accuſed Coligni, d'Andelot, and the prince of Condè, as the inſtigators of his guilt. The parliament adjudged him to the ſame puniſhment as was inflicted on regicides, and he was torn in pieces by horſes. Though in his laſt moments he is ſaid to have perſiſted in his former charges againſt the leaders of the hugonots, yet his declarations were vague and unſupported; and it is probable he was only impelled by that barbarous fanaticiſm which marked the age in which he lived; the admiral, d'Andelot, and Condè, all expreſſed their abhorrence of a crime which their general life and conduct ſeems to refute; but Henry the young duke of Guiſe, ſtill continued to ſuſpect the former, and though then in early youth, vowed immortal hatred and imprecated vengeance on the head of Coligni, as the murderer of his father.

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On the death of the duke of Guiſe the mareſchal Briſac was ſummoned to the command of the royal army, and entruſted with the ſiege of Orleans; but Catherine, embaraſſed with the ſupport of the war, and not unmindful of the laſt advice of the duke of Guiſe, made immediate overtures for peace. The terms were ſettled by the conſtable and the prince of Condè. The Proteſtants were to renounce their treaty with England, to lay down their arms, reſtore the places they had occupied, and in return to receive a general pardon, and the free exerciſe of the reformed religion.

The articles of peace were ſtrongly diſapproved by the admiral, who conſidered the death of the duke of Guiſe as an event which opened to them the moſt ſplendid proſpect of ſucceſs. But the prince of Condè, was captivated by the charms of Mademoiſelle de Limeuil, one of the maids of honour to Catherine, and deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf againſt the Engliſh, the natural enemies of his country: the united forces of the Catholics and Hugonots preſſed the ſiege of Havre de Grace, which the latter had ceded to Elizabeth in return for her aid. The earl of Warwick commanded in that town a garriſon of ſix thouſand men; but his numbers, which promiſed a vigorous and bloody reſiſtance, were

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thinned by the ravages of a peſtilential diſeaſe, and he was compelled to capitulate on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. A final accommodation ſoon after took place between the two kingdoms; the hoſtages which had been given for the reſtitution of Calais, were releaſed by the Engliſh for the ſum of two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, and each party was allowed to reſerve their claims and pretenſions to a more favourable opportunity.

Catherine, conſcious of her influence over her ſon, and fearful of admitting the prince of Condè as her colleague in the adminiſtration, by the advice of the chancellor de l'Hoſpital ventured on a new and ſingular expedient; Charles had juſt entered his fourteenth year; but the edict of Charles the fifth had extended the regal minority until the king attained fourteen complete. In defiance of this edict the queen procured an act from the parliament of Rouen, which declared the minority of her ſon expired; the parliament of Paris at firſt rejected this innovation, but Charles himſelf reprimanded them in ſuch ſevere language for their preſumption, as reduced them to compliance.

A. D. 1564. Ever reſtleſs and inſiduous Cathe-
1565. rine prevailed on Charles to under-
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take a progreſs through his dominions; at Bayonne he was met by his ſiſter the queen of Spain attended by the duke of Alva; the interview laſted above three weeks; but while the hours of it ſeemed devoted to diſſipation and feſtivity, they were diligently improved by the queen-mother in ſecret and frequent conferences with the duke of Alva for the extirpation of the reformed; that nobleman, ſtern and unrelenting, recommended meaſures the moſt ſanguinary and arbitrary; and unfortunately for France, his counſels made but too deep an impreſſion on the mind of Catherine.

The conferences at Bayonne were not ſo privately conducted, but that they reached the ears and awakened the jealouſies of the proteſtants. They beheld with diſtruſt the ſeverity which the king of Spain diſplayed towards their brethren in the Netherlands, and with terror the march of the duke of Alva through the countries of Burgundy and Lorrain. The edict which had been promulgated in their favour, was inceſſantly violated by the Catholic magiſtrates; they carried their complaints to the admiral and the prince of Condè; the latter of theſe ſtill hoped to obtain the title of lieutenant general which the late king of Navarre had enjoyed; and both concurred in expreſſing their unwil- A. D. 1566.

unwillingneſs to rekindle the flames of civil commotion. For two years they repreſſed the zeal and ardour of their party; at length the prince of Condè perceived himſelf duped by the promiſe of an office, which the queen-mother deſigned for her ſecond and favourite ſon, Henry duke of Anjou; he received intelligence that the life of Coligni, and his own freedom, were hourly menaced; he liſtened to the bold and deciſive counſels of d'Andelot the brother of the admiral, and determined once more to unſheath the ſword.

A. D. 1567. Though the leaders of the proteſtants had with reluctance conſented to light again the brand of diſcord, yet when once reſolved, their immediate meaſures proclaimed their lofty and enterpriſing genius. The court in perfect confidence repoſed at Monceaux; and the hugonots might well hope, by one ſucceſsful blow, to render themſelves maſters of the king, his mother, and his miniſters; but Catherine had already received intimation of their deſigns; ſhe retired haſtily with her ſon into the city of Meaux; and in conſequence of the advice of the cardinal of Lorrain, determined to proceed with Charles to Paris. The youthful monarch, in the midſt of the Swiſs guards, in whoſe undaunted fidelity he confided, quitted Meaux by break of day. He had

had ſcarce advanced two leagues before the prince of Condè appeared in ſight with five hundred horſe. Montmorency, whoſe natural caution was increaſed by age, dreaded expoſing his ſovereign to the charge of ſo determined a body; after having repulſed the firſt attacks of the hugonots, he ſent Charles forward by private roads, and eſcorted by two hundred cavalry to Paris; while the prince, ignorant that his royal prey had eſcaped, waſted his ſtrength in repeated and ineffectual attempts on the ſteady valour of the Swiſs.

To a train of deluſive negociations ſucceeded the open operations of war; with ſcarce three thouſand ſoldiers, the prince of Condè ſurprized the town of St. Denys, and intercepted the ſupplies of the capital. The conſtable Montmorency was urged by the tumultuous clamours of the Pariſians, to deliver them from the inconveniencies of a ſiege by a deciſive action. He marched forth at the head of near twenty thouſand men, and the hugonots did not ſhun the encounter with the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. With undaunted reſolution they ſuſtained the conflict for above three hours; the conſtable himſelf was thrown to the ground, and mortally wounded by Robert Stuart; yet the intrepid veteran, at the age of ſeventy-five, while falling,

ſtruck his adverſary with ſo much violence with the pummel of his ſword, as to beat out ſeveral of his teeth, and to fracture his jaw-bone. Montmorency was reſcued by his ſecond ſon Henry d'Amville; and the proteſtants, overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies, retired under cover of the night. The conſtable by his weeping kinſman was carried off the field, and conveyed to Paris; and the laſt moments of a life, invariably loyal, were conſoled by the preſence and tears of his ſovereign.

A. D. 1567. 1568. The evening after the battle of St. Denys, the proteſtants were reinforced by d'Andelot, who had been prevented from joining his friends before, by the deſtruction of the bridges over the Seine. Encouraged by his ſupport, the army, ſo lately vanquiſhed, reſumed its former ſtation, blocked up the capital, and even attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſuburbs; they were repulſed at length; and retiring ſlowly before the royal forces, effected a junction with Caſimir, the ſon of the elector palatine, who led to their aſſiſtance a body of Germans. Rochelle declared for the reformed; and la Noue, one of their ableſt chieftains, erected their banner on the walls of Orleans; the valour of the young duke of Guiſe repelled them indeed from Sens; but the prince of Condè, immediately

mediately after that miſcarriage, inveſted Chartres. While he yet remained before the city, doubtful of the event of the enterpriſe, terms of accommodation were propoſed; the inability of the prince to ſatisfy the demands of his German auxiliaries, induced him to accept them; and, from the mutual fear and diſtreſſes of the contending parties, a treaty was ſubſcribed, ſimilar to the former, and which was rather a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities than a renewal of peace.

By the death of Montmorency, the office of conſtable was vacant; and A. D. 1568. the king, jealous of his authority, coldly rejected the different ſolicitations of his aſpiring courtiers. Even the importunities of Catherine for her favourite ſon Henry, were, on this occaſion, ineffectual, and "I want no perſon to carry my "ſword; I am well able to carry it myſelf," was the expreſſive reply of Charles. As the character of the youthful monarch began with his years to unfold itſelf, he diſplayed an ardent thirſt of glory, a mind bold and penetrating, and a munificence truly royal: but theſe qualities were darkened by an education vicious and corrupt. The mareſchal de Retz had taught him to intermingle his converſation with the moſt blaſphemous imprecations; and Catherine had early trained him in the arts of diſſimulation, ſo fatal to his honour

and repoſe; though he ſtill perſevered in refuſing the ſword of conſtable, the influence of the queen-mother obtained the poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom for the duke of Anjou, then ſcarcely ſixteen years of age.

The hugonots ſoon were convinced how little they could confide in the proteſtations of Catherine; each ſtipulation of the late treaty was inſultingly violated; and a ſcheme was laid to ſurpriſe the prince of Condè, and the admiral, then at Noyers, in Burgundy, a caſtle belonging to the former. With a ſlender eſcort, and incumbered by a timid and feeble train of women and children, the two celebrated leaders of the proteſtants were compelled to ſeek their ſafety by flight; they eluded the numerous detachments of their enemies, traverſed, favoured by an unuſual drought, the river Loire, and, after innumerable perils, arrived at Rochelle.

To that city the ſcattered hugonots from every quarter haſtily repaired; amongſt the reſt Jane, queen of Navarre, appeared with her infant ſon Henry, deſtined to be the future ſupport and glory of France. The hoſtile deſigns of the court were open and undiſguiſed. The chancellor de l'Hoſpital, too virtuous for a corrupt adminiſtration, was diſmiſſed from his office, and the ſeals were beſtowed on Morvilliers, biſhop of Orleans, a bi-

gotted catholic. The duke of Anjou, aided by the experience of the mareſchal Tavennes, aſſumed the command of the royal army; while the prince of Condè, ſupplied with ammunition and money by Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt induced her to overlook the late levity of the reformed, took the field, and marched to Soiſſons; the vicinity of the hoſtile armies daily promiſed a deciſive action, but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon compelled them mutually to retire into winter quarters.

That enmity which had ſlept during winter, was arouſed on the return of ſpring. A. D. 1569. The royal forces rapidly advanced to prevent the prince from effecting a junction with the reinforcements that he expected from Germany. In the province of Angoumois, on the banks of the river Charentè, the proteſtants were overtaken and ſurpriſed by the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. The prince of Condè, in a moment, gave an order and a field of battle to his troops. From a former wound, when the action began, his arm was in a ſcarfe, and as he marched up to the attack, the horſe of his brother-in-law, the count of Rochefoucault, reared, and broke his leg; yet, ſuperior to this painful accident, with an undaunted countenance, he thus addreſſed his followers: "nobility

" bility of France, know, that the prince of " Condè, with an arm in a ſcarfe, and a leg broke, " fears not to give battle, ſince you attend him." The village of Jarnac has been rendered memorable by the courage and conſtancy with which the hugonots diſputed the day; Coligni and d'Andelot, Montgomeri and Rochefoucault, tranſpierced the thickeſt ranks, and vied with each other in perſonal proweſs; they were at length compelled to quit the field with a ſigh of indignation and deſpair. The prince of Condè, alone incapable of flight, covered with wounds, and exhauſted with fatigue, was ſurrounded and taken priſoner. Thoſe to whom he had yielded his ſword, had ſeated him at the foot of a tree, when Monteſquiou, captain of the duke of Anjou's guards, rode up, and being informed who he was, diſcharged a ball into his head, which inſtantly killed him.

Such was the fate of Lewis prince of Condè, and the manner of his death, after the heat of action was paſt, has affixed an indelible ſtain on the character of the duke of Anjou, who was ſuppoſed to have authoriſed the barbarous deed of Monteſquiou. His body, thrown on an aſs, was carried to the caſtle of Jarnac, and after being expoſed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to the duke of Longueville, his brother-in-

in-law, who interred it with thoſe of his anceſtors at Vendoſme.

Perhaps the inſtigators of this unmanly aſſaſſination might vainly hope, that with the life of the prince, the ſpirit and fortune of the hugonot party would be extinguiſhed; but the fortitude of Coligni ſoon compelled them to renounce the flattering expectation; inured to adverſity, and fertile in reſources, with the remnants of his broken forces he purſued his rout to St. John d'Angeli, and thence retired into Poitou; the queen of Navarre ſoon joined him with whatever troops ſhe could collect, and preſented to the army her young ſon Henry, who was received by the acclamations of the proteſtants, and declared general, with his couſin the young prince of Condè; but while the names of theſe royal youths added luſtre to the cauſe, the hopes and confidence of the party reſted on the approved abilities and inflexible integrity of the admiral.

Though deprived of the kindred valour of his brother d'Andelot, who expired of a peſtilential fever at Saintes, Coligni again took the field, effected a junction with count Mansfeldt, and the German auxiliaries, and engaged the catholic forces in a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh; while the count de Montgomery reduced the province of Bearn, and extended his devaſtations into Languedoc.

Encouraged by theſe advantages, the admiral undertook the ſiege of Poitiers; but the young duke of Guiſe, emulous of his father's fame, threw himſelf into the town. His reſolute courage, and the near approach of the duke of Anjou induced Coligni to relinquiſh the hopeleſs enterpriſe; and a few days afterwards the clamours of his German allies, whoſe demands he was incapable of ſatisfying, compelled him to hazard the battle of Montconcour.

The victory was diſputed by the rival armies with incredible obſtinacy; and it was not till after ſeveral hours, that the numbers of the catholics, and the ſuperior diſcipline of the Swiſs, triumphed over the perſevering zeal of their adverſaries. The admiral, in the beginning of the action, had been wounded by a piſtol ball, which beat out four of his teeth, and broke his jaw; yet he continued gallantly fighting to the laſt; his voice ſpent, and covered with ſweat and blood, attended only by three hundred horſe, and accompanied by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condè, he gained Parthenai, about ſix leagues from the field of battle.

The victorious army, inſtead of preſſing their flying enemies, laid ſiege to St. John d'Angeli; and the reſiſtance they encountered in that enterpriſe, allowed the admiral time to re-unite his

ſcattered

ſcattered forces. He diſpatched meſſengers into England, Switzerland, and the German ſtates, to announce his perilous condition, and to demand, in the common cauſe of religion, an immediate ſupply of troops and money. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condè, joined Montgomery in Bearn, and brought that chief to the ſuccour of the admiral. The port of Rochelle, which the catholics had blocked up, was opened by Sore, a pirate of Dieppe; and la Noue, in that neighbourhood, by ſeveral ſucceſsful enterpriſes extended the quarters of his party. Yet to join the forces which Coligni expected from Germany, it was ſtill neceſſary to traverſe the greateſt part of France; and the admiral, undiſmayed by the inclemency of winter, by the conſiderable rivers which interſected his courſe, by the numerous forces of the catholics ſtationed to intercept him, aſſembled his adherents at Saintes, and accompanied by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condè, began a march, which muſt ever rank his name among the moſt celebrated commanders.

Charles himſelf, inflamed with military ardor, and jealous of the fame of his brother Henry, had joined his army before St. John d'Angeli; yet that city continued to withſtand the aſſaults of the beſiegers for above two months; nor did the governor conſent to treat, till the garriſon had

had totally exhauſted their proviſions; even then he obtained honourable conditions, and was permitted to march out with one hundred horſe and eight hundred foot. The king himſelf, after taking poſſeſſion of the place, could ſcarce be perſuaded from following the rout of Coligni; but was at length induced to relinquiſh the deſign by the remonſtrances of the mareſchal de Tavannes, who repreſented to him the danger of undertaking any new enterpriſe at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year.

A. D. 1570. The admiral directed his courſe along Gaſcony; during the ſeverity of the winter he remained near the ſhore of the Mediterranean in the vicinity of Narbonne; with the return of ſpring he traverſed Languedoc, aſcended the Rhone, and after pillaging above fifty, and ranſoming a hundred places, he conducted his followers into the heart of Burgundy. At Annai le Duc he was oppoſed by the mareſchal de Coſſe, who had obtained the ſupreme command of the royal forces on the indiſpoſition of the duke of Anjou. The hugonots, without cannon, without ammunition, and ſcarcely amounting to four thouſand men, inſpired with the dauntleſs ſpirit of their leader, heſitated not to attack ten thouſand catholics, inured to war, and protected by a formidable train of artillery; their

their cavalry, compoſed of gentlemen, and commanded by princes, ſoon routed the adverſe ſquadrons of the mareſchal, and reſtraining their ardour prudently returned to the ſupport of their infantry. The admiral, content with this advantage, quitted the field, eluded the efforts of his antagoniſts, and menaced by his ſubſequent motions the tranquillity of the capital; when the welcome ſound of peace relieved the Pariſians from their fears, and the proteſtants from that diſtreſs which nothing but the high military talents of Coligni could have ſupported.

The articles of this new treaty were ſigned at St. Germain en Laye, and were as favourable to the reformed as their moſt zealous partizans could wiſh. The edicts in their favour were confirmed, they were reſtored to all their employments and dignities, and were permitted to retain poſſeſſion for two years of Rochelle, La Charitè, Montauban, and Coignac. Terms ſo highly advantageous might well excite the doubts of the moſt cautious, but the king himſelf affected ſo warm a diſpoſition to eſtabliſh tranquillity, and maintained ſo reſerved a countenance to the Guiſes, as effectually diſſipated all ſuſpicions, and entangled the proteſtants in the fatal net which the artful genius of Catherine had woven for their deſtruction.

Convinced

Convinced at length of the impracticability of extirpating the calviniſts by open force, ſhe concealed under the moſt flattering appearances, the moſt perfidious deſigns; and Charles who ſtill regarded with implacable reſentment the attempt of the hugonots to ſurprize him at Meaux, too readily yielded his conſent to the dark and ſanguinary ſyſtem. Each day ſeemed to afford ſome new proof of his averſion to the Guiſes, and his reſpect for the reformed. To ſtrengthen the union of the two parties he propoſed the marriage of his ſiſter Margaret with the king of Navarre; he himſelf had before in vain offered to the queen of England; and ſoon after united himſelf to the archducheſs Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second; an amiable princeſs, who with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal conſort, which had been long engaged to his miſtreſs the beautiful Mary Touchet.

A. D. 1571. 1572. France for two years was permitted to taſte the bleſſings of tranquillity; yet even during that interval the diſtruſt of the hugonots was excited by the myſterious death of the queen of Navarre, and public rumour attributed her fate to the poiſonous arts of Catherine. Her deceaſe ſcarce interrupted the preparations for the marriage of the princeſs Margaret with Henry of Navarre; for their union Gregory the Third had

had granted a diſpenſation; yet even this mark of the ſincerity of Charles did not entirely vanquiſh the ſuſpicions of Coligni, and to allure him from his retreat of Chatillon, a new artifice was adopted, and open hoſtilities were commenced againſt Philip of Spain, whoſe perſecuting ſpirit had compelled the reformed of the Netherlands already to erect the ſtandard of revolt.

To extend the glory of his country, to vindicate from oppreſſion the tenets of his religion, were the honourable objects of the admiral's ambition. He liſtened with pleaſure to the offer of commanding the forces deſigned for Flanders; the remonſtrances of the Rochellers were vanquiſhed by the repreſentations of Lewis of Naſſau, a zealous proteſtant, and who had been received by the king of France with uncommon diſtinction; and Coligni, overwhelmed by importunities, and yielding againſt his better reaſon, arrived at Paris, accompanied by a prodigious train of the hugonot nobility, and followed by the young king of Navarre.

Every teſtimony of the moſt reſpectful and cordial friendſhip was ſtudiouſly conferred on the calviniſt nobles, and their leader; the nuptials of the king of Navarre with the princeſs Margaret were ſolemnized with royal magnificence; thoſe of Henry prince of Condè with Mary of Cleves

Cleves ſeemed deſigned to extinguiſh the enmity of the two families of Bourbon and Lorraine; and every thing beſpoke the ardent deſire of the king to maintain the public tranquillity. Yet amidſt theſe external demonſtrations of amity, Coligni was repeatedly warned that Catherine and her ſon nouriſhed ſome dark and fatal ſcheme of revenge; but with that greatneſs of mind that characterized him he replied, that he would rather ſuffer himſelf to be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris, than renew the horrors of a civil war and plunge his unhappy country into new calamities. The mareſchal de Montmorency, who inherited his father the conſtable's caution, but profeſſed the doctrines of the reformed, under pretence of indiſpoſition obtained leave to retire to his caſtle of Chantilli, and eſcaped the perfidious artifices of Catherine, and the deadly hatred of the houſe of Guiſe.

As a prelude to the fatal maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, it had been determined immediately to venture on the aſſaſſination of the admiral. As he ſlowly returned from the palace of the Louvre to his own houſe, engaged in the peruſal of ſome papers, he was wounded by two balls; one broke the fore-finger of his right hand, the other lodged in his left arm near the elbow. Without betraying any emotion, he calmly pointed to the houſe whence the ſhot came, but the aſſaſſin had already

eſcaped by a poſtern door, and Coligni was conveyed home by his mournful attendants; the king received the news with the moſt furious indignation, exclaiming with his uſual imprecations, "Shall I never be at peace? What always new "troubles!" He inſtantly quitted the game at tennis at which he was engaged, and repaired to the admiral's apartment, whom he affected to conſole with profeſſions of regard and denunciations of vengeance.

It is probable that the ſuſpicions of Coligni were not allayed by the affected warmth of the king, and as ſoon as his health enabled him to ſupport the fatigue of a removal, that he would have quitted a perfidious court and an hoſtile capital. Charles and Catherine were both ſenſible that their diſſimulation could not avail them much longer, and they were apprized of the reſolution of the hugonots to avenge by arms the injuries of their chief. The apprehenſions of the admiral's eſcape quickened their determinations; and the king at length gave his conſent to involve the reformed in one promiſcuous carnage; at the ſame time adding with his cuſtomary oaths— "ſince it is to be done, take care that not one eſ- "capes to reproach me;" the duke of Guiſe, as animated with a peculiar deteſtation of Coligni, whom he conſidered as his father's murderer, was

appointed

appointed to direct the inhuman ſlaughter, and the ſignal was to be made by ſtriking the great bell of the palace.

At that dreadful knell the work of death was begun, and humanity recoils from the horrors of the fatal night of St. Bartholomew; yet the reader may expect amidſt the general carnage that ſome few moments ſhould be devoted to the fate of Coligni. He had long retired to reſt, when he was arouzed by the noiſe of the aſſaſſins who had ſurrounded his houſe. A German named Beſme entered his chamber, and the admiral apprehending his intentions, prepared to meet death with that fortitude which had ever diſtinguiſhed him. Incapable of reſiſtance from his late wounds, with an undiſmayed countenance, he had ſcarce uttered the words, "young man, reſpect theſe grey hairs, "nor ſtain them with blood," when Beſme plunged his ſword into his boſom, and with his barbarous aſſociates threw the body into the court. The duke of Guiſe contemplated it in ſilence, but Henry, count d'Angouleſme, natural brother to Charles, ſpurned it with his foot, exclaiming, "Courage my friends, we have begun well, let "us finiſh in the ſame manner."

During ſeveral days that the maſſacre was continued, above five thouſand proteſtants are ſuppoſed to have fallen victims to the religious fury of

of the catholics; among theſe the moſt illuſtrious were the count de la Rochefocault, and Teligni, who had married the daughter of the admiral. The count de Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres with near a hundred gentlemen who lodged to the ſouth of the river Seine eſcaped on horſeback half naked; they were purſued and overtaken by the duke of Guiſe, who cut in pieces the greateſt part of them; only the two chiefs with about ten of their followers reached the coaſt of Normandy, and thence croſſed over to England. The duke of Guiſe himſelf in his own palace preſerved above an hundred of the calviniſts with intent to attach them to his perſon; and Biron, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Henry the Fourth, ſheltered in the arſenal, and protected by his cannon thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to be ranked among his friends and adherents.

Henry king of Navarre, who had been but ſix days married to the princeſs Margaret, and his couſin the young prince of Condè, were exempted from the general deſtruction, and brought before Charles, who with menaces and imprecations commanded them to abjure their religion. The king of Navarre obeyed, but the prince ſtill heſitating, Charles in a tranſport of rage exclaimed, "death, maſs, or the baſtile!" This violence vanquiſhed the fortitude of the prince; who ap-

parently reconciled himſelf to the eſtabliſhed church, and received abſolution in the pope's name from his uncle the cardinal of Bourbon.

The ſame orders which had deluged the capital with blood, were but too faithfully obeyed in the cities of Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angers, and Thouloufe; but in Provence the reformed were preſerved by Claude de Savoye, count de Tende; De Gorges in Dauphine, the mareſchal de Matignon in Alençon, and the biſhop of Lizieux in his dioceſe, all extended to them their protection; but above the reſt the anſwer of viſcount Ortez to his ſovereign has juſtly been celebrated; "Sire, I have received the letter en-"joining to the inhabitants of Bayonne a maſſacre "of the hugonots; your majeſty has many faithful "ſervants in this city, but not one executioner." Yet theſe inſtances of generous humanity were but few, and it is ſuppoſed throughout the kingdom of France that twenty-five thouſand proteſtants periſhed.

A. D. 1573. If the conduct of the king was marked with an honourable reluctance previous to the commencement of the maſſacre, during the execution of it he not only enjoyed the bloody ſpectacle from the windows of his palace, but is ſaid himſelf repeatedly to have fired upon the miſerable fugitives. But he was

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ſoon taught how difficult it is to eradicate the principles of religion; and perſecution ſeemed only to have confirmed the zeal of the proteſtants. Rochelle, the grand aſylum of calviniſm, ſhut its gates againſt the royal forces, commanded by the duke of Anjou. It reſiſted with firmneſs the repeated attacks of the beſiegers; and the mind of Charles was juſtly filled with anxiety for the event, when he underſtood that his youngeſt brother Francis duke of Alençon, bold, turbulent, and faithleſs, had united himſelf in a ſecret league with the king of Navarre. He now began to awake from that guilty delirium into which the counſels of his mother had plunged him; and while he ſurveyed the dreary proſpect around him, he found the infidelity of his ſubjects vindicated by his own treacherous example. He was equally jealous of the duke of Anjou, as he was diſtruſtful of the duke of Alençon, and he received with ſatisfaction the envoys which called the former to the throne of Poland. The ſiege of Rochelle had been but little advanced, the hopes of the proteſtants throughout the kingdom were once more revived, and Charles embraced the pretence afforded by the elevation of his brother, to conclude a new treaty with the reformed, ſcarce leſs favourable to them than the three preceding.

But the duke of Anjou regarded his election to the crown of Poland in a very different light from Charles; he plainly perceived the health of that monarch daily declined, and he was unwilling to hazard his ſucceſſion to the fertile realm of France, to reign over a barbarous and turbulent people. His unwillingneſs to depart was increaſed by a violent affection which he had conceived for Mary of Cleves, the conſort of the prince of Condè. His delay at length arouſed the ſuſpicion and anger of the king, and he was conſtrained to ſet out with the myſterious aſſurance of Catherine that his abſence ſhould not be long.

A. D. 1574. The ſmall remnant of the reign of Charles was afflicted by civil commotion, and fraternal diſcord. The confederacy of the duke of Alençon with the king of Navarre, reſtored the courage of the hugonots; and la Noue and Montgomery reaſſembled their diſmayed and ſcattered party. But the meaſures of Francis and Henry were detected by the vigilance of Catherine, their perſons were cloſely guarded, and they were ſeverely examined in the preſence of the king himſelf. The mareſchal de Montmorenci and de Coſſè were arreſted as their accomplices; and the count de Montgomery, inveſted in Domfront was compelled to ſurrender by the mareſchal de Matignon. On his capitulation he had

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ſtipulated for his life; but Catherine, after the death of Charles, paid little regard to the convention, and ſacrificed him to the memory of Henry the Second.

The detection of ſecret conſpiracy, the defeat of open revolt, could not check the progreſs of diſeaſe which with rapid ſtrides preſſed towards the diſſolution of the king. Ever ſince the fatal maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, his countenance had been marked with a ſettled gloom, and his mind had been torn by contending paſſions. He had been deeply affected by the late intrigues of his brother the duke of Alençon, and the king of Navarre; and though he hated the hugonots, he equally dreaded the aſpiring families of Guiſe and Montmorency. Awakened to the ignominy with which the perfidious counſels of Catherine had obſcured his fame, he was determined in future to reign independent and alone; but theſe reſolutions were unfortunately adopted too late for the tranquillity of France; every day proclaimed ſome new and fatal ſymptom. A ſlow and internal fever exhauſted his ſtrength, and blood oozed even out of the pores of his ſkin. A diſorder ſo ſtrange and unprecedented, recalled to the minds of the people the ſuſpicious expreſſions of Catherine when ſhe parted with her favourite ſon the king of Poland. But from this crime

it is more than probable the queen-mother was free, and the fate of Charles may be aſcribed to that violence which was diſplayed, in his converſation, his manners, and his exerciſes. His conſtitution, however ſtrong, was unequal to the conſtant exertion; and in the twenty-third year of his age he yielded up his life and crown. His laſt hours were employed with dignity and compoſure; he recommended to thoſe around him to preſerve their fidelity to the king of Poland; he obliged all preſent to take an oath of obedience to Catherine during the abſence of Henry; and he expired at the moment when his penetration, his judgment, and his experience, might have remedied the evils in which the evil genius of his mother had involved his country.

Chapter the Twenty-fifth.

REGENCY OF THE QUEEN MOTHER—ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD—WAR WITH THE HUGONOTS—EXPEDITION OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU IN FLANDERS—HIS ATTEMPT ON CAMBRAY—HIS RETREAT AND DEATH—SEDITIOUS PRACTICES OF THE LEAGUE—HENRY COMPELLED TO LEAVE PARIS—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE AND CARDINAL OF GUISE—DEATH OF CATHERINE OF MEDICIS—THE KING BESIEGES PARIS—IS ASSASSINATED BY A JACOBIN FRIAR.

CHARLES by his widow Elizabeth left only one daughter who survived him about four years, and Elizabeth herself retired into the dominions of her father the emperor Maximilian; while Catherine assuming the power which the deceased monarch's last words had conferred on her, displayed those abilities A. D. 1574.

which aroſe in proportion to the emergency of her ſituation. She cloſely guarded the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alençon, with the mareſchals de Montmorenci and de Coſſe; ſhe negociated a truce with the hugonots, raiſed new levies among the Swiſs and Germans, diſpatched repeated meſſengers to haſten the journey of the king of Poland, and impatient of delay ſet out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

On receiving the welcome news of his brother's deceaſe, Henry ſecretly quitted Poland, and haſtily fled from the throne to which he had been ſo lately elected; before the tidings were publickly known, or his deſigns could be impeded, he reached the frontiers of Germany, and was entertained at Vienna by Maximilian with imperial magnificence; thence he directed his courſe through the territories of the Venetians, reſted a few days in Turin; and in a little more than three months from the death of Charles, embraced his mother at Lyons, and received from her hands the reins of government.

In his early youth Henry had diſplayed the promiſe of uncommon abilities; his manners were inſinuating, his perſon graceful, his countenance beautiful; and his people regarded with the moſt partial expectations the hero of Jarnac and Moncontour; but the meridian of his fame was

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ill calculated to correſpond with the luſtre of his dawning glory, and his ſubjects ſoon diſcerned a monarch, irreſolute, inconſtant, indolent, and voluptuous; mingling devotion with ſenſuality, and alternately governed by the licentious minions of his court, or by bigotted prieſts who aſſumed the direction of his conſcience.

Though he releaſed from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother the duke of Alençon, he ſtill continued to obſerve their ſteps with the moſt vigilant jealouſy; but the cares of government were only conſidered ſecondary to thoſe of love; his paſſion for the princeſs of Condè blazed forth with increaſe of violence. Reaſon, decency, and honour, in vain oppoſed its progreſs, and Henry was already determined to diſſolve the marriage of Mary with the prince of Condè, and to raiſe her to his bed and throne, when his deſigns were broken by the unexpected ſtroke of death; that princeſs, in the pride of beauty and the flower of youth ſuddenly expired; while the royal lover, devoting himſelf to all the luxury of ſorrow, atteſted the ardour of his affection, by remaining ſeveral days inſenſible to the language of conſolation, and obſtinately rejecting whatever food was offered him.

From this trance he was awakened by the repreſentations of his miniſters, and the firſt act of ſovereignty

ſovereignty was to reſtore to the duke of Savoy ſeveral places which the French ſtill retained in Piedmont. But the impolicy of this meaſure was forgotten in the ſuperior imprudence of his reſolution to proſecute the war againſt the hugonots. The cardinal of Lorrain, whoſe fatal counſels influenced the irreſolute mind of Henry, ſurvived not to behold the ſcenes of ſlaughter which he had planned; and mareſchal d'Amville, informed of the royal determination, boldly erected the ſtandard of oppoſition, and ſupported in Languedoc the principles of calviniſm. The prince of Condè previous to the death of Charles the Ninth, had eſcaped to Straſburgh, and abjured the catholic religion; he now returned to join the forces of the confederates; while the duke of Alençon, inflamed by wild ambition, deſerted the court and armed againſt his brother.

A. D. 1575. Amidſt the ſtorms which threatened his throne on every ſide, the king was crowned at Rheims by the cardinal of Guiſe, and the next day beſtowed his hand on Louiſa, daughter to the count of Vaudemont, of the houſe of Lorrain. The war with the proteſtants was maintained with various ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe acquired freſh laurels by the defeat of a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries; but Leſdiguieres eſtabliſhed himſelf in Dauphinè, and the

the queen-mother, alarmed at his progreſs, releaſed the mareſchals de Coſſe and Montmorency, and prevailed on the latter to negociate a truce. It was concluded for ſix months only, and the towns of Niort, Saumur, la Charitè, Meſieres, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Coignac, were ſurrendered to the reformed, as pledges for their ſecurity; while Henry endured a freſh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Poliſh diet to chuſe a new ſovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Tranſylvania.

In the late commotions, the king of Navarre had affected to remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he now ſeized the favourable moment of flight, eſcaped to his government of Guienne, and openly profeſſed again the tenets of calviniſm; the duke of Alençon again reſumed his intrigues; the prince of Condè appeared at the head of a numerous body of Germans; and the boundleſs ambition of the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the catholic army, was equally formidable to Henry with the daring deſigns of the confederates. Thus alike fearful of victory, or defeat, he ſubſcribed a peace, by which the reformed were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, with the reſtriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any place where the court reſided; chambers of juſtice were erect- A. D. 1576.

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ed in every parliament, conſiſting of equal numbers of catholics and proteſtants, the memory of Coligni and his aſſociates were honourably reſtored, and the ſafety of the hugonots was confirmed by the ceſſion of eight fortified towns.

To gratify his brother, the king had ceded to him the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, with the title of duke of the former; the prince of Condè was to have the government of Picardy; Leſdiguieres and d'Amville in Dauphinè and Languedoc aſſumed an haughty independency; the Germans, raiſed by prince Caſimir, were permitted to live at free quarters in the biſhopric of Langres; and Henry beheld, with indignation, great part of his dominions parcelled out amongſt his proteſtant ſubjects, and their formidable allies; but a more fatal blow to his authority originated in the jealouſy of the catholics, who, irritated by the late favourable conditions granted to the calviniſts, formed themſelves into a league, and choſe as their protectors the pope and the king of Spain. Henry, though ſenſible of the melancholy degradation, by the advice of his miniſters, declared himſelf the head of this aſſociation, and by the importunities of the leaguers was ſoon compelled to reſcind the late edict of pacification.

While

While the king was immerſed in ſenſual enjoyments, his ſubjects experienced all the miſeries which attend a weak and divided adminiſtration. The religious enmity of the catholics and hugonots was repeatedly ſuſpended by treaties, which as they were made without faith, were broken without heſitation. But amidſt the ſcenes of dark intrigue and open violence, which for three ſucceſſive years diſhonoured and afflicted the kingdom, the virtues of the young king of Navarre attained to maturity, and burſt forth with an increaſe of luſtre which eclipſed his rivals, dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and confirmed the hopes of the calviniſts, whoſe religious tenets he profeſſed. In the treaty of Nerac, he had baffled the artifices of the wily Catherine; and on the ſubſequent violation of that treaty, he ſurpriſed the town of Cahors; forced open the gates; and though the governor, with undaunted courage, maintained, during five days, an obſtinate and unprecedented conflict in the ſtreets, the valour of the king of Navarre triumphed over every difficulty, and planted at laſt the banners of his party on the ramparts of that city. A. D. 1577. 1579.

It was not alone in France that religious rancour had kindled the flames of civil war. The gloomy light was beheld with horror through the

Netherlands; and the unrelenting Philip, ſeconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved myriads of his Flemiſh ſubjects in exile, torture, and death. The illuſtrious birth and memorable ſervices of the counts Egmont and Horn could not preſerve them from an ignominious fate; and the prince of Orange only eſcaped the perfidy of his ſovereign, and the ſtroke of the executioner, by an haſty retreat into Germany. He ſoon returned to arouſe his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppreſſed by the ſuperior forces of Spain, ſought new reſources in foreign alliances, and addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Anjou. The ſovereignty of the Low Countries was too ſplendid an allurement to be reſiſted by a prince vain, raſh, and ambitious; his ardour, at the ſame time, was inflamed by the hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth; and the queen of England, deſirous of reſiſting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of committing herſelf to open hoſtilities, embraced the opportunity, by the moſt flattering declarations, of exciting the duke of Anjou to the defence of the Flemings.

A. D. 1580. But before the duke could embark in this enterpriſe, it was firſt neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt ſuſpend, if not extinguiſh, the flames of civil diſcord which raged through the

the kingdom of France. His proffered mediation was readily accepted by Henry, who by alternately profeſſing to patroniſe each, had loſt the confidence of both factions, and beheld his catholic ſubjects range themſelves under the banners of the duke of Guiſe, while the proteſtants avowed their open attachment to the king of Navarre Both had exhauſted their ſtrength in various efforts, without either acquiring an aſcendancy; and a treaty was quickly concluded, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Condè, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the proteſtants in poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns for ſix years.

The duke of Anjou had ſcarce unfurled his ſtandard, before it was joined by the flower of French chivalry; and at the head of twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, he marched to the relief of Cambray, which was inveſted by the army of Philip, commanded by the prince of Parma; that prudent general retired at the approach of this new antagoniſt, who entered Cambray in triumph, was ſaluted by the inhabitants as the protector of their freedom; and after reducing Cateau Cambreſis, embarked for England, to ſolicit the hand and ſupport of Elizabeth. A. D. 1581.

From

A. D. 1582. 1583. From that queen he received the moſt gracious reception; and though her prudence afterwards retracted the promiſes which ſhe had been betrayed into by his flattery and importunity, ſhe furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, and a numerous fleet, to ſecond his enterpriſes in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the Duke de Montpenſier, and the mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men; but his own caprice and perfidy diſappointed the ambitious hopes which he had entertained; and he reſolved, by making himſelf maſter of thoſe towns into which his troops had been admitted, to oppreſs that liberty which he was ſummoned to protect. His deſigns could not eſcape the penetrating eye of the prince of Orange; his treacherous attempt on Antwerp was repulſed by the valour of the inhabitants; the gates of the other cities were ſhut againſt him; his troops were aſſailed by famine and diſeaſe; and though the prudence of the prince of Orange affected an apparent reconciliation, the duke of Anjou, with a broken conſtitution, retired to France, deſerted by his friends, and derided by his enemies.

A. D. 1584. Though Henry ever afterwards regarded with contempt the abilities and deſigns of his brother, his own conduct was equally

equally deſtitute of decency, policy, or judgment. He beſtowed on his favourite, the duke of Joyeuſe, the ſupreme direction of affairs, and raiſed him to an alliance with the throne, by uniting him in marriage to the ſiſter of his queen. Balls, banquets, and religious proceſſions, conſumed thoſe treaſures which might have been ſucceſsfully employed in repreſſing the riſing influence of the king of Navarre and the duke of Guiſe; the latter by his intrigues had drawn from his retirement the duke of Anjou, who tranſported with the hopes of retrieving his loſt reputation, entered into the views, and engaged to ſecond the plans of the houſe of Lorrain; but ever fickle and capricious, he ſoon repented of this new enterpriſe; he flew to court, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the king, and revealed the conſpiracy in which he had embarked. Henry received him with tenderneſs, and diſmiſſed him to Chateau Thierri, where a rapid decline ſoon terminated a life, ſtained by levity, perfidy, and profligacy.

The death of the duke of Anjou diſconcerted, but did not extinguiſh, the daring projects of the houſe of Lorrain. The three brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, with the duke of Mayenne, openly placed themſelves at the head of the league, and inflaming the people with the dread of an heretic

ſovereign, avowed their reſolution to transfer the pretenſions of the king of Navarre to his uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon; a zealous papiſt, but who, incapable from age and weakneſs of holding the reins of government himſelf, was to deliver them into the hands of the duke of Guiſe. Henry was ſoon apprized of the intentions of the confederates; by the duke d'Epernon, who ſhared his favour with Joyeuſe, he preſſed the king of Navarre to reconcile himſelf to the eſtabliſhed church, and as next prince of the blood, to remove the only objection that could be urged againſt his ſucceſſion; but the king of Navarre was deaf to the arguments of d'Epernon; and though his friend Pleſſis Mornay, by publiſhing his ſentiments, confirmed the hugonots in their opinion of his conſtancy, he unfortunately afforded a plauſible pretence to the league, who openly reviled their ſovereign as treating with heretics, and entered into a cloſe alliance with Spain; by a treaty, ſigned at Joinville, they agreed, in return for certain pecuniary ſupplies, on the death of Henry the Third, to acknowledge the cardinal of Bourbon as king, to enforce the council of Trent through France, and to reduce Cambray to the yoke of Philip.

The court of Rome entered into the views of the confederates, and ſanctioned by her holy authority the ambition of the Guiſes. The impatience

of

of their new ally the king of Spain, compelled them to take the field before they had aſſembled their adherents; with a feeble army, ſcarce exceeding five thouſand men, the duke of Guiſe occupied Verdun, but was repulſed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke d'Epernon. The loyalty of the mareſchal Matignon preſerved Bourdeaux; and though Marſeilles was ſurpriſed by the league, it was next day recovered by the arms of the royaliſts. Had Henry at this moment reſumed that ſpirit which he formerly diſplayed in the fields of Jarnac and Moncontour, he might have eſtabliſhed his tottering throne, and chaſed the duke of Guiſe from his dominions: but alternately the ſlave of pleaſure and ſuperſtition, he was no longer capable of any great or arduous enterpriſe; he concluded a peace on the moſt diſhonourable terms, with thoſe very rebels whoſe preſumption he might have chaſtiſed; and agreed, at the imperious voice of the duke of Guiſe, to compel the proteſtants to reſtore the cautionary towns that they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treaſures to the ſervice of the league.

With terror and aſtoniſhment the king of Navarre heard the fatal conditions, which menaced his own ſucceſſion, and placed an empty ſceptre in the hand of Henry. A. D. 1585.

That monarch ſoon experienced that the moſt fatal event of war ought to have been preferred to an ignominious peace. His capital could no longer be conſidered as his own. A council of ſixteen citizens of Paris, nominated by the influence of the duke of Guiſe, inſulted their ſovereign, and filled the ſtreets with confuſion. A gleam of hope broke in from the court of Rome; Sixtus the Fifth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical throne, launched the ſpiritual thunders on the heads of thoſe who had preſumed to arm againſt the crown. But governed only by a temper turbulent and aſſuming, he increaſed the public anarchy by excommunicating ſoon after the king of Navarre, the prince of Condè, and all their adherents. The proteſtants haraſſed and oppreſſed ſought ſhelter in Guienne and Dauphinè; and the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condè, embraced as their only means of ſafety the calamities of war. The latter after having in vain attempted to relieve Angiers, was forced to diſperſe his troops, and with difficulty eſcaped to England.

A. D. 1586. Five armies levied in the name of the king threatened with their numbers to overwhelm the ſmall band of proteſtants. The moſt numerous was entruſted to the command of the duke of Mayenne, who entered Gui-

ènne, and haraſſed his forces in the fruitleſs purſuit of the king of Navarre; three more led by D'Epernon, Joyeuſe, and Matignon, were equally unſucceſsful. But the duke of Guiſe extended his fame and conqueſts in Champagne and Burgundy, and confirmed by his exploits the confidence of the league. Yet the people loudly murmured at the new taxes which were impoſed for the continuance of the war. The return of the prince of Condè with troops and money from England, and his ſubſequent ſucceſs in Saintonge, allowed the mnot to expect a ſpeedy concluſion of it; the mareſchal Biron indeed recovered ſeveral places from the reformed, but he maintained at the ſame time an auſtere reſerve towards the leaguers; while d'Amville, who by the death of his brother was become mareſchal Montmorency, aſſumed in Languedoc the tone of independence, declared himſelf the head of a third party attached to the ancient conſtitution in church and ſtate, and while he ſtiled the proteſtants heretics, he treated the leaguers as rebels.

Each day diminiſhed the remnant of authority which the king had continued to poſſeſs, and increaſed the difficulties of his ſituation; on one ſide the Germans and Swiſs prepared to pour their forces into France and join the troops of the king of Navarre; on the A. D. 1587.

other Henry equally dreaded the leaders of the league, and conſidered the duke of Guiſe as his moſt formidable enemy. His favourite Joyeuſe, accompanied by the flower of the French nobility, was defeated and ſlain at Coutras. In that action, which firſt crowned the hugonots with deciſive victory, the king of Navarre diſplayed all the qualities which diſtinguiſh the ſoldier and the general; but his inability to ſupport his troops prevented him from improving his advantage; he was compelled to diſband his forces; and with the impatience of a lover, he haſtened to lay his laurels at the feet of his miſtreſs.

The prince of Condè ſoon after expired at St. Jean d'Angeli of poiſon; a crime which was imputed to his conſort, but whoſe innocence was vindicated by a public trial.

The Germans and Swiſs, hopeleſs of joining their allies, fixed and received the price of their retreat; and the inhabitants of Paris, delivered from the dread of foreign invaſion, determined to reduce Henry to the moſt mortifying inſignificance, and to veſt the ſole adminiſtration in the hands of the duke of Guiſe. In purſuance of this deſign, they preſented a memorial, in which they required the king to declare openly for the league, to revive the council of Trent, to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, and to extirpate hereſy.

Though Henry could not entirely repreſs his indignation, he yet promiſed to conſider their requeſts. But alarmed at their inſolence, he obſerved with a vigilant eye their conduct, and meditated vindicating his dignity by ſurpriſing the whole council at once; from this deſign he was diſſuaded by Catherine; and his imprudence in ſeverely reproaching and boldly menacing a faction which he thus ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, ſerved only to inflame the enmity of the leaguers, who now ſummoned the duke of Guiſe to their ſupport.

Contrary to the expreſs command of his ſovereign, the duke of Guiſe entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refuſing, yet deeply wounded by repeated inſults, Henry recalled his former reſolution, and declared that the moment of interview ſhould be the laſt of his preſumptuous ſubject's. The tears and remonſtrances of Catherine again interpoſed. The indignant features of the monarch proclaimed the conflict within; he ſternly accuſed the duke of ſedition, treaſon, and the moſt daring deſigns againſt his life and throne. The duke of Guiſe, ſenſible of his danger, endeavoured to diſarm his rage by ſubmiſſion; he was ſuffered to retire in ſecurity; but A. D. 1588.

convinced of the hazard that he had incurred, and hopeleſs of any ſincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the moſt deciſive meaſures.

The angry countenances of the Pariſians betrayed the ſecret emotions of their minds, and foretold the approaching tempeſt. Six thouſand of the troops, whoſe fidelity Henry could depend upon, had received orders to enter the capital. Their ready appearance was the ſignal of general inſurrection; the citizens by myriads quitted the inſtruments of their peaceful occupations to aſſume the weapons of war. The guards were aſtoniſhed, overwhelmed, and diſarmed; but amidſt the tumult, while Catherine engaged the duke in an artful negociation, Henry quitted his palace, eſcaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and ſurveying his capital with the eye of offended majeſty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

From Paris Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his ſubjects from the inſolence of the duke of Guiſe, and the tyranny of the leaguers. He was anſwered by manifeſtos which breathed the ſpirit of ſedition inflamed by religious rancour. Yet while the mutual accuſations of both parties ſeemed to allow no other deciſion but that of arms, the mediation of Catherine

therine was again accepted, and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a ſubject whom he hated and feared. The firmneſs of the parliament, and the levity of the Pariſians, had influenced the duke of Guiſe to liſten to terms of accommodation; while Henry was impreſſed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, the duke of Guiſe was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared firſt prince of the blood; and the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt the ſubjects of France who had preſumed to deviate from the ancient and eſtabliſhed church. On the concluſion of the treaty, the duke of Guiſe waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with marks of reſpect and confidence that ſeemed to proclaim the moſt ſincere reconciliation.

Yet amidſt theſe public teſtimonies of regard, Henry continued to nouriſh a latent thirſt of vengeance, and was determined to inflict on the duke the juſt but tardy puniſhment of his preſumption. Exaſperated at the ignominious conceſſions into which the counſels of his mother had betrayed him, he for ever excluded her from his confidence. He aſſembled the ſtates at Blois; and though he beheld himſelf ſurrounded by the partizans

partizans of the league, he addreſſed them in a bold and animated ſpeech, diſplayed the diſtreſs to which he was reduced, and glanced at the ſeditious practices of the houſe of Lorrain. Language ſo unexpected ſtruck the duke of Guiſe with aſtoniſhment; he remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the inſinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled before it was circulated abroad to ſoften the moſt obnoxious paſſages.

To this mortification ſucceeded intelligence the moſt alarming: he was informed that his aſpiring ſubject held a ſecret and treaſonable correſpondence with the duke of Savoy; he perceived that the ſtates were determined to declare the king of Navarre by name incapable of the ſucceſſion; and that his own repoſe, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, could only be eſtabliſhed by the death of the duke of Guiſe. He ſummoned in this exigency the few friends in whoſe fidelity and ſecrecy he could truſt; the number and quality of them convey to us ſome idea of his forlorn ſituation, and the cabinet council of the ſovereign of France was compoſed of the mareſchal d'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis d'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis. The firſt adviſed the king to arreſt the princes of Lorrain; but Henry was ſenſible that ſuch an attempt would only ſerve to inflame ſubjects too powerful

ful for reſtraint; and the reſt concurred in encouraging him to extinguiſh the ambition of the duke of Guiſe with his life.

In the execution of this deſign, Henry diſplayed the ſame calm diſſimulation as had characteriſed his brother Charles; Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his perſonal courage, was firſt applied to to ſtrike the fatal blow; but with a dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and ſervices allowed him not to play the executioner. "I will challenge the duke," continued he, "and "if permitted, endeavour to kill him fairly with "my ſword." The king received his refuſal with a good grace; and only recommended to him ſecrecy. He now fixed on Loignac, the firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, who readily accepted the commiſſion, and was joined by a ſelect number of Gaſcons whom the duke d'Epernon had introduced for the immediate protection of the king's perſon.

Yet the adherents of the duke of Guiſe, ever anxious and vigilant, were ſoon apprized that ſome dark deſign was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admoniſhed that he ſtood on the edge of a precipice. But relying on that fortune which hitherto had invariably attended him, and impreſſed with a ſtrong but miſtaken idea of Henry's

Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was ſummoned to. As he entered the cabinet of the king, through a long and gloomy paſſage, he was aſſailed by the daggers of Loignac and his aſſociates. Six poignards at once were plunged in his boſom; and exclaiming with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy "on me!" he fell breathleſs on the floor.

Thus periſhed Henry duke of Guiſe the victim of his own inordinate ambition. Though his talents appear not to have equalled thoſe of his father, his courage, magnanimity, and inſinuating addreſs endeared him to the citizens of Paris, over whom his influence was uncontrouled. His brother the cardinal of Guiſe, more violent, but leſs enterpriſing, was involved in his deſtruction; and Henry the moment that he was informed of the fate of the former, paſſed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a king, madam, "and have no competitor, for the duke of Guiſe "is no more." Catherine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly aſked, if he had conſidered the conſequences.

A. D. 1589. That princeſs had been for ſome time confined to her bed by a ſevere indiſpoſition; accuſtomed to the ſupreme direction of affairs, her haughty temper could ill brook

brook the reſerve that for ſome time the king had maintained towards her. The pangs of diſeaſe were rendered more intolerable by the agitation of her mind. As her end approached, her eyes were opened to a juſt ſenſe of the inſiduous policy which ſhe had ſo long and ſo fatally purſued; in her laſt moments ſhe exhorted Henry to reconcile himſelf to the princes of his blood, particularly the king of Navarre, whoſe ſincerity ſhe declared ſhe had conſtantly experienced; and to reſtore the tranquillity of France, by allowing the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. In her ſeventieth year ſhe ſunk into the grave, and eſcaped by a timely death beholding the deſtruction of her laſt and favourite ſon.

The king was ſoon convinced how neceſſary it was for him to adopt the dying counſels of Catherine. On the fate of the Guiſes, the crowd that had attended him to Blois haſtily diſperſed; the multitude abhorred him, the majority of his nobles were combined againſt him, his favourites on whom he had profuſely laviſhed his treaſures deſerted him, and the clergy whom he had blindly reverenced publicly reviled him. All zealous catholics were armed againſt him; the citizens of his capital rejected his authority, and choſe the duke of Aumale as their governor; the doctors of the Sorbonne openly abſolved his ſubjects from

from their allegiance; and the council of union, compoſed of forty members, aſſuming a ſovereign power, conſtituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guiſe, lieutenant-general of the ſtate royal and crown of France; a dignity pompous, abſurd, and before unknown; and their zeal would even have extended to him the title of king, had not his caution induced him to decline the dangerous preeminence. Rouen and the greateſt part of Normandy declared for the league; Lyons, Thouloufe, Marſeilles, Arles, and Toulon, with the provinces of Brittany and Auvergne, embraced the ſame party; the Spaniſh ambaſſador repaired to Paris, and nouriſhed by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while pope Sixtus the Fifth fulminated his thunders againſt the aſſaſſins of the duke of Guiſe, and involved the king in the ſentence of excommunication.

While Henry forlorn and deſponding contemplated the gloomy and diſtracted proſpect before him, a ray of hope broke in from the honourable and diſintereſted attachment of the princes of the blood; theſe haſtened to devote to his ſervice their lives and fortunes; and their example was followed by the dukes d'Epernon and Nevers, and the mareſchal Montmorency; a reconciliation was effected between the kings of France and Navarre;

and

and the former inveſted in Tours by the duke of Mayenne, after defending the ſuburbs with the ſame gallantry as he had diſplayed in early life, was relieved by the latter, who preſſed forwards with his troops to his aſſiſtance, and diſdained when he joined the royal ſtandard to extort from the neceſſities of the king any conditions for his own advantage. Large levies were diligently raiſed in Switzerland and Germany; yet the mind of Henry, amidſt the hope of returning fortune, ſeemed continually oppreſſed by the ſpiritual cenſures of the court of Rome; and it required the utmoſt addreſs of the king of Navarre to animate his drooping ſpirits; "Let us, Sire," ſaid that prince with his uſual vivacity, "march to Pa-"ris, and if we are victorious, we ſhall be eaſily "abſolved." The counſel was approved; their ſuperior forces, joined by the Swiſs and Germans, ſwept the revolted towns in their progreſs; and ſwelled by ſucceſs to near forty thouſand men, on the laſt of July inveſted the capital of France.

The duke of Mayenne, with four thouſand regular ſoldiers, endeavoured to confirm the courage and conſtancy of the inhabitants; but Henry urged the ſiege with inceſſant ardour; within the walls the royaliſts were ſtill numerous; and Paris muſt ſoon have been reduced to acknowledge the authority of her ſovereign, had not the puniſhment

which

which her ſeditious and turbulent citizens had ſo long provoked been averted by the deadly dagger of aſſaſſination. James Clement, a jacobin friar, and native of Sens, of ſtrong paſſions but weak intellects, had eagerly liſtened to the treaſonable and daring diſcourſes which the popular preachers of the league daily thundered from their pulpits. A diſpoſition, naturally gloomy and fanatical, was inflamed to deſperation by theſe intemperate harangues; and either impelled by that ſanguinary ſuperſtition that ſtrongly marks the times, or prompted by perſons of ſuperior rank, who viewed in the return of Henry their own deſtruction, he determined by one fatal ſtroke to extinguiſh the enemy of the pope, and of the catholic religion. With a paſſport procured under falſe pretences from the count de St. Brienne, one of the king's generals then a priſoner, and a letter forged from the preſident Harlay, who at that time was confined in the Baſtile, he ſet out from Paris for St. Cloud, the royal quarters; on the road he met the attorney general, and informing him that he had ſome important intelligence to communicate to the king in perſon, he was entertained by that officer at his houſe, who alſo engaged to procure him an audience of Henry.

The next morning he was accordingly introduced

duced to the king, to whom he preſented his letters, but while Henry was attentively occupied in the peruſal of them, Clement ſuddenly plunged a knife, that he had concealed in his ſleeve, in the bowels of his unhappy ſovereign. The wounded monarch inſtantly drew it out, and twice ſtruck with it the aſſaſſin; the attorney-general with a blow of his ſword extended him on the floor; and the imprudent zeal of two of the royal guards immediately diſpatched him.

Henry at firſt had flattered himſelf that his wound was not mortal, but frequent faintings ſoon convinced him of his approaching end, and he prepared to meet it with a fortitude and compoſure worthy of his high ſituation. He ſummoned to his preſence the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced and declared his lawful ſucceſſor; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and ſupport their new ſovereign; and expired the next morning in the ſixteenth year of his reign and the thirty-ninth of his age. In him was finally extinguiſhed the race of Valois; and his widow Louiſa, of the houſe of Lorrain, after lamenting the untimely fate of her conſort, whoſe tenderneſs ſhe had invariably experienced, retired amidſt the diſtractions of her bleeding country to linger through a life of twelve years of blameleſs obſcurity.

Chapter the Twenty-ninth.

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE FOURTH, THE FIRST KING OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON—STATE OF ENGLAND AND SPAIN—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF MAYENNE—BATTLE OF YVRI—SIEGE OF PARIS—MARCH OF THE PRINCE OF PARMA—ABOLITION OF THE COUNCIL OF SIXTEEN—SIEGE OF ROUEN—RELIEVED BY THE PRINCE OF PARMA—HIS RETREAT FROM CAUDBEC—HIS DEATH—NEGOCIATION BETWEEN THE KING OF SPAIN AND THE LEAGUE—CONVERSION OF HENRY THE FOURTH TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

BY the death of Henry the Third, the ſceptre of France was transferred from the houſe of Valois to that of Bourbon, and placed in the hand of Henry the Fourth, the firſt monarch of that family. The religious commotions which

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ſo long had agitated France, had afflicted alſo great part of Europe. The prudence of Elizabeth had indeed ſecured the internal tranquillity of England; but the tempeſt had raged with redoubled violence in Scotland; the amiable but unfortunate Mary, who had ſought ſhelter in Britain from the fury of a rude, haughty, and turbulent people, inflamed with a ſanguinary zeal for the doctrines of calviniſm, had after the form of a ſolemn trial, periſhed on the ſcaffold the victim of the female jealouſy of Elizabeth. To avenge her death, the king of Spain filled his ports with naval preparations; but his fleet, which from the ſize of the ſhips, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, obtained the name of the *Invincible Armada*, was defeated by the lighter veſſels and ſuperior dexterity of the Engliſh; and the remnant of an armament, on which the treaſures of the Indies and America had been profuſely laviſhed, ſhattered by the winds and waves, and purſued by the triumphant navy of Elizabeth, eſcaped with difficulty into the ports of Spain.

To the vaſt continent of America, diſcovered by the daring genius of Columbus, and reduced to ſubjection by the arms of Cortez and Pizarro, Philip had ſome time ſince added the dominions of Portugal. The people of that country had

firſt of all the Europeans deſpiſed the narrow and beaten tract of navigation, boldly committed themſelves to the wide expanſe of the ocean, eſtabliſhed their colonies on the coaſt of Africa, founded new cities in Aſia, and planted Braſil, in America, a valuable ſettlement of which they ſtill retain poſſeſſion. But their monarch Sebaſtian, impelled by frantic zeal and romantic valour, had periſhed waging a fruitleſs war in Africa againſt the diſciples of Mahomet; his crown paſſed to his uncle Don Henry, a cardinal and a prieſt; and on the death of Henry, the pretenſions of Philip, ſeconded by the armies of Spain and the experience of Alva, triumphed over the feebler efforts of his competitors, and annexed the kingdom of Portugal to the dominions of Spain.

But this acceſſion of ſtrength had not enabled that monarch to ſubdue the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and to bend to the yoke the ſtubborn minds of the Flemings. A people naturally obſtinate and perſevering, were confirmed in their oppoſition by that very cruelty which had been exerted to reduce them; their habitual phlegm was quickened by the fire and commanding genius of William prince of Orange; ſeveral years had now been conſumed in the important conflict; and Philip, exaſperated by reſiſtance, extended his enmity to the reformed beyond the limits

limits of his own dominions; he regarded with dread a proteſtant prince on the throne of France; and was determined cloſely to connect himſelf with the catholic chiefs of the league; while Elizabeth, intent on extirpating the catholic religion from every country in Europe to which her power and influence could reach, was prepared to ſupport a king whoſe religious principles were ſimilar to her own.

Such was the ſtate and inclinations of the two moſt powerful potentates in Europe, when the ſtroke of aſſaſſination diſmiſſed Henry the Third from a turbulent and ignominious reign. His ſucceſſor Henry the Fourth who had completed his thirty-fifth year, and was equally adorned with all the ſplendid qualities of mind and body, eloquent in council, intrepid in action, fertile in reſources; a great general, an undaunted ſoldier, and a penetrating ſtateſman, beheld in a moment a proſpect preſented to his view, which as it might kindle the ambition of the coldeſt, was ſufficient to damp the ardour of the moſt aſpiring ſpirit. The crown of France, his right by deſcent, was the object of his hopes; but innumerable objects ſtill oppoſed the peaceable poſſeſſion of it. He was indeed at the head of a conſiderable army, but the greateſt part of his troops, as well as of his ſub- A. D. 1589.

jects, consisted of catholics; his capital was in the hands of a faction formidable by their numbers, and daring in their designs; his coffers were empty; and the most fertile provinces of France acknowledged the authority of the league.

The Swiss guards, with their colonel Sanci, first saluted Henry as their sovereign; the mareschal Biron assured him of his fidelity; the principal catholics, Bellegarde, D'o, Chateauvieux, d'Entragues, and Dampierre, who had attached themselves to the fortunes of the late king, were induced to declare themselves in favour of the present; but the duke d'Epernon, under pretence of resenting the little deference that was shown to him, retired with the troops more immediately under his command, and first communicated to the camp the contagious spirit of disaffection.

The duke of Mayenne, in Paris, was on this critical occasion at least as much embarassed as Henry; but in a situation the most delicate, he conducted himself with dignity and judgment, and justified the favourable opinion which his party entertained of his abilities. He declined the dangerous title of king, which he was earnestly solicited to accept; he rejected a proposal that was made to offer the crown to Philip of Spain; but at the same time he exhorted the people of France to live and die in the catholic religion,

ligion, and as the king of Navarre was an heretic, to acknowlegde as their ſovereign the cardinal of Bourbon.

The deſertion of the duke d'Epernon was ſoon followed by that of the moſt zealous catholics; and Henry, ſenſible of the daily diminution of his forces, retired from the walls of Paris, and ſlowly directed his march toward Normandy. The governor of Dieppe opened the gates of that city, and readily admitted his ſovereign; the officer to whom the league had entruſted Caen, diſplayed the ſame diſintereſted loyalty; the acquiſition of two places ſtrongly fortified, and provided with numerous garriſons, which might long have reſiſted the efforts of the royal army, was highly acceptable to the king, who was now able to preſerve a free communication with England, the only power he could depend upon for effectual aſſiſtance.

The duke of Mayenne was equally conſcious of the importance of the revolted towns; the zeal of the Pariſians profuſely ſupplied him with every pecuniary aid; he drew large levies of ſoldiers from Lorrain; at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men he advanced towards Normandy, and threatened to overwhelm the royal forces, ſcarce amounting to ſeven thouſand, and to reſtore Dieppe to the authority of the league;

his ſuperior numbers in either enterpriſe muſt have inſured ſucceſs, had he rapidly preſſed forwards; but naturally cautious and ſlow in all his motions, his dilatory march afforded Henry leiſure to ſhelter himſelf under the walls of Arques. In that poſition he was attacked by the duke of Mayenne, who, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts on the intrenchments of the royaliſts, was compelled to retire with the loſs of above ſix hundred men. The ſatisfaction of Henry at having repelled ſo formidable an antagoniſt, was heightened by the welcome intelligence, that the Swiſs cantons, the republic of Venice, and the queen of England, had acknowledged him as king; and by the junction of four thouſand ſoldiers whom Elizabeth had diſpatched to his ſupport.

With this reinforcement, and with the troops which the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Orleans and Longueville, the mareſchals Biron and Aumont, led to his aſſiſtance, Henry determined once more to appear before the gates of Paris, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the unguarded capital. By rapid marches he outſtripped the intelligence of his deſigns; and the Pariſians were aſtoniſhed and intimidated by the hoſtile appearance of a monarch, whom they fondly expected to have beheld led through the ſtreets, a captive to the victorious arms of the league.

league. He inſulted the ſuburbs; cut in pieces above thirteen hundred of the troops of the league; and would probably have made himſelf maſter of his capital, had not the duke of Mayenne, at that critical moment, entered Paris on the oppoſite ſide; prudence allowed Henry no longer to perſiſt in beſieging a city, always formidable from the number of its inhabitants, and now defended by an army more numerous than his own; he retired to Tours; while the duke of Mayenne, in Paris, ſolemnly proclaimed as king the captive cardinal of Bourbon, by the title of Charles the Tenth; in the name of this pageant of royalty, who was himſelf a priſoner to Henry, the duke diſſolved the council of union, whoſe intemperate meaſures and ſecret intrigues with Spain he had long diſapproved; and with the aſſiſtance of a privy-council nominated by himſelf, and devoted to his will, aſſumed the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs.

The duke of Savoy, deſcended by his mother from Francis the Firſt, had not heſitated, on the death of Henry the Third, to urge his pretenſions to the vacant throne; ſenſible of the weakneſs of his claim, amidſt the general confuſion, he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of Provence and Dauphinè; he was baffled by the ſkill and vigilance of Valette, elder brother to the duke d'Epernon

pernon, who ſacrificed his fortune and his life in the ſervice of his ſovereign; while the duke himſelf, without publicly acknowledging the authority of Henry, acted with ſpirit and ſucceſs againſt the league.

A. D. 1590. The duke of Mayenne, after the retreat of Henry from Paris, had reduced Pontoiſe, twice inveſted Meulan, and twice retired on the approach of that monarch. The king, in return, with an army of twelve thouſand men, laid ſiege to Dreux; and the walls were already ſhaken by his attacks, when he was informed that the army of the league, reinforced by the prince of Parma, and conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand veteran ſoldiers, was advancing towards him. He immediately deſiſted from the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and, determined to hazard a deciſive engagement, poſted himſelf at Yvri, on the banks of the river Eure. The duke of Mayenne ſtill wiſhed to avoid committing the fortune of his party to the fate of a ſingle day; but his own irreſolution was vanquiſhed by the reproaches of the citizens of Paris, and by the daring counſels, and preſumptuous vaunts of count Egmont, whoſe father had periſhed the victim of the jealouſy of Philip, and the cruelty of the duke of Alva. Yet the ſon had diſplayed undaunted zeal and unſhaken loyalty in the cauſe of the tyrant: and,

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inflamed with religious enmity towards the reformed, had been detached by the prince of Parma to the ſupport of the catholic arms. He boaſted that the cavalry which he led were able alone to encounter and vanquiſh the royal army; and the duke of Mayenne reluctantly yielded to his impetuous courage. The conflict was long obſtinately maintained; but the ſuperior genius of Henry at length prevailed. Count Egmont, with the greateſt part of his detachment, periſhed on the field; two thouſand five hundred of the leaguers were involved in the ſame fate; and the duke of Mayenne, after having diſcharged the ſeveral duties of a general and a ſoldier, eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the conqueror. The Swiſs, who amidſt the general rout alone preſerved their ranks and reputation, conſented to enter into the ſervice of the king; but Henry was prevented from immediately improving his advantage by the diſtreſſed ſtate of his finances; he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by a fallacious negociation; and it was not till near two months afterwards, that he marched to, and blocked up, the city of Paris.

About this time the cardinal of Bourbon, his competitor for the crown, ſunk into the grave, expreſſing in his laſt moments his regard for his ſucceſsful rival, and conſcious of the intereſted views

views of thoſe who had affected to elevate him to a throne; yet his name for ſeveral years, after his death, was uſed to ſanction the deſigns of the league, and to nouriſh the flame of rebellion. The Pariſians ſtill diſplayed the ſame implacable enmity towards their ſovereign; and the duke of Nemours, who had been appointed governor of the capital, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct. Even the eccleſiaſtics on this occaſion forgot the peaceable tenets of their religion; and, emerging from the gloom of the cloyſter, formed themſelves into a regiment, under the command of the legate of the court of Rome. This holy corps could have added but little real ſtrength to the cauſe in which it armed, and Paris derived more effectual advantage from the humanity of the ſovereign, whom it continued thus obſtinately to reſiſt; famine and peſtilence began already to ſtalk at large through the ſtreets; and the duke of Nemours, to avoid the inſtant conſequences of the former, commanded the aged and infirm to leave the city; had Henry refuſed a paſſage through his lines to theſe unhappy wretches, it is more than probable his capital muſt have ſurrendered; but his natural clemency prevailed over the ſuggeſtions of ambition; and he rejected the counſels of his officers, who adviſed him to drive them back with the ſword; yet even this could

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only for a ſhort time alleviate, but not extinguiſh their miſery; the cry of peace, or bread, reſounded through the ſtreets; and the reſolution of the duke of Nemours muſt have yielded to the clamours of a ravenous and diſorderly multitude, when the fainting ſpirits of the leaguers were again revived by the approach of the duke of Mayenne and the prince of Parma.

In the ſpace of the laſt month famine had conſumed above thirty thouſand of the inhabitants of Paris; each feeling of nature was overborne by the preſſure of immediate diſtreſs; at the imperious call of hunger mothers are reported to have prolonged a guilty life by feeding on the diſmembered limbs of their offspring. With mingled horror and compaſſion Henry turned from his polluted capital; and impatient, amidſt the tumult of battle, of effacing from his mind the inhuman ſcenes he had witneſſed, directed his march towards the prince of Parma; that able commander at Meaux had joined the duke of Mayenne with fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and their confederate forces compoſed an army of twenty-four thouſand infantry, and near twelve thouſand cavalry; but the ſole object of the prince was to relieve Paris, and he determined to accompliſh it, if poſſible, without hazarding a general engagement. To a defiance

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from the king of France, to put an end to the calamities of the kingdom by a deciſive action, he coolly replied, that he was accuſtomed to fight only when he thought proper himſelf, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and by a ſeries of ſkilful operations, which commanded the admiration of Henry himſelf, he eluded the vigilance of his adverſary; ſtormed within his very ſight the walls of Lagni, ſwept away the garriſons of St. Maur and Charenton, and once more poured plenty into the famiſhed capital.

Though Henry himſelf could not but applaud the ſkill and conduct of the prince of Parma, yet his generous ſpirit was ſeverely mortified by the diſappointment. Paris was raviſhed from his graſp, at the moment that his hand was ſtretched out to ſeize it; the ſuperior dexterity of his antagoniſt had wounded his reputation, and evaded his endeavours to force him to a battle; his own army was greatly weakened by ſickneſs and the fatigues of a long campaign; the ravaged country could no longer ſupply the neceſſary ſubſiſtence; his exchequer was exhauſted; the nobility and gentry, who ſerved him at their own expence, were diſcontented and impatient to depart; and he was compelled, though reluctantly, to embrace the only expedient that remained; he retired to St. Denys, diſbanded the greateſt part of

his forces, diſmiſſed his principal adherents to the protection of the provinces in which their intereſt lay, and with a flying army of his beſt troops prepared to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

That general, after the relief of Paris, at the requeſt of the duke of Mayenne and the chiefs of the league, inveſted Corbeil; which, though defended with gallantry, was taken by aſſault. The prince, to ſound the inclinations of the catholic leaders towards the king of Spain, propoſed to garriſon it with his Walloon, or Italian troops; but this offer was rejected with indignation by the duke of Mayenne and his confederates; and the manner of their refuſal clearly diſcovered their jealouſy and ſuſpicion of Philip. The prince confirmed in his opinion, that the moment was not yet arrived of avowing the ambitious deſigns of his maſter, and influenced ſtill more by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the ſickly ſtate of his troops, the want of money and proviſions, determined, notwithſtanding the importunities of the catholic chiefs, to return into the Netherlands, and leave the contending parties to exhauſt their ſtrength, in mutual animoſity, in hopes their weakneſs hereafter would deliver them an eaſy prey to Spain.

Leſt the catholics might be overpowered in his abſence

abſence by the ſuperior genius of the king of France, the prince left for their ſupport a body of ſix thouſand men, and with the reſt of his troops began his march towards the Netherlands; but he was ſenſible that ſo enterpriſing a commander as Henry, however his weakneſs had compelled him to remain a peaceable ſpectator of his late operations, would not fail to obſerve his retreat with a vigilant eye. That he might accompliſh without loſs this arduous deſign, he drew up his army in four diviſions, and marched always in order of battle; the country through which he paſſed was diligently in the morning reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his army each night was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments.

The moment that Henry was informed of the intended route of his adverſary, he collected a ſmall but ſelect body of troops; and impatient to efface his diſgrace before Paris and Lagni, continually hovered round and haraſſed the forces of Spain; his bravery and vigilance were diſplayed in inceſſant attacks; but in the paſſage of the river Ainè his ardour precipitated him amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and he muſt either have periſhed, or ſurrendered to the multitude that ſurrounded him, had he not been diſengaged by the active gallantry of baron Biron, ſon to the mareſchal; yet his danger, inſtead of depreſſing,

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ſeemed only to inflame his enterpriſing ſpirit. The length of the march, the badneſs of the roads, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, all contributed to ſecond his attempts, and to increaſe the diſtreſs of the enemy; but every obſtacle vaniſhed before the prudence and ſkill of the prince of Parma; and, without any conſiderable loſs, he triumphantly conducted his troops into the province of Hainault.

The mortification of Henry at beholding his rival thus eſcape with impunity, was increaſed by the ſucceſs of the duke of Savoy in Provence, and by the unſeaſonable death of pope Sixtus the Fifth. The former reduced Frejus and Antibes, and entered Aix in triumph; the latter expired at the moment that he had determined to break with the Spaniards, and to urge by arms the claim of the court of Rome to the kingdom of Naples; Urban the Seventh, his tranſient ſucceſſor, within a few months ſunk alſo into the grave; and the vacant apoſtolical chair was filled with Gregory the Fourteenth, by birth a Spaniard, and the moſt implacable enemy of Henry. He inſtantly declared that monarch an heretic, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and involved them in the cenſures of the church, unleſs they quitted the impious party they had eſpouſed.

A. D. 1591. But the magnanimity of Henry ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the difficulties that preſented themſelves; baffled in repeated attempts to ſurpriſe the city of Paris, he ſtill maintained his ſuperiority in the field; a ſupply of money and ammunition from England enabled him ſoon after to beſiege Chartres. In the reduction of that city Francis de Coligni, ſon to the celebrated admiral, diſplayed qualities which promiſed even to ſurpaſs thoſe of his father; and his death ſoon after was univerſally deplored by the calviniſts, who were permitted to behold, and to lament the loſs of, his virtues. From the acquiſition of Chartres, the king directed his attacks to Noyon, which was compelled to ſurrender even in the ſight of the duke of Mayenne.

The eſcape of the young duke of Guiſe from the caſtle of Tours, in which he had been confined ever ſince his father's death, increaſed the number of Henry's enemies; but the duke of Mayenne, on his ſide, found himſelf almoſt equally embaraſſed with thoſe who profeſſed themſelves his moſt zealous friends. The council of ſixteen had again aſſumed the government of the capital, and inflamed with religious and political fury, had cauſed, on a frivolous charge, and without the form of a trial, the preſident, and two of the counſellors, to be ſeized and executed. On in-

formation of this outrage, the duke of Mayenne, with a ſelect body of troops, haſtily returned from Picardy; ſeverely reproached the council for their inſolence and temerity; and as an example to the reſt, commanded four of the moſt guilty to be inſtantly hung up in his hall. The ſurvivors, intimidated by the fate of their companions, gladly withdrew to their original obſcurity.

The forces of Henry had been ſwelled by ſixteen thouſand Germans, levied by the viſcount du Turenne, and were reinforced by four thouſand Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Eſſex; and the king of France, with an army of nearly thirty thouſand horſe and foot, laid ſiege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. That city was defended with the higheſt intrepidity and ſkill by the Sieur de Villars; but there was little probability that he would be able long to reſiſt ſo formidable a force, directed by ſo able a commander as Henry. The duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger of ſo important a place, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Spain, and the prince of Parma was again commanded to enter France, and endeavour to preſerve Rouen.

He began his march about the middle of December, and his army, when joined by that of the duke of Mayenne, might conſiſt of twenty-five thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand cavalry.

Henry informed of his approach, and unwilling to relinquiſh his hopes of a city which he daily expected would capitulate, left his foot to proſecute the ſiege, and with his horſe advanced to retard the progreſs of the prince. But his ardour on this occaſion precipitated him into a danger the moſt lively and imminent; having with four hundred horſe outſtripped the reſt of his ſquadrons, he fell in with the van of the Spaniards, near the town of Aumale. Theſe he charged and repulſed; and purſued his advantage till he deeply engaged himſelf with the adverſe ranks; for ſome time he continued fighting deſperately, till wounded in the reins, and the greater part of his companions killed by his ſide, he effected a retreat, which it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed, had not the prince of Parma, ſuſpicious of an ambuſcade, called off his troops.

The forces of the confederates, though inceſſantly haraſſed and repeatedly attacked, had now penetrated within two days march of Rouen, when they were ſurpriſed by the agreeable intelligence that the governor had availed himſelf of the abſence of the king, ſallied from the town, and deſtroyed the works and cut in pieces great numbers of the beſiegers; mareſchal Biron himſelf, who commanded, was wounded, and Villars,

lars, who aſpired to the glory of raiſing the ſiege without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, added, that if his garriſon was reinforced, he expected to defend the town for ſeveral months longer. Though the prince of Parma was of opinion that he ſtill ought to purſue his march, and attack the royaliſts before they had recovered from their confuſion, yet he yielded to the counſels of the duke of Mayenne, and after detaching eight hundred choſen men to Rouen, he turned aſide into Picardy, and inveſted St. Eſprit de Rue.

The king himſelf was no ſooner informed of this reſolution than he returned to preſs the ſiege of Rouen with redoubled vigour. The loſs that he had ſuſtained was amply ſupplied by cannon and ammunition from the ſtates of Holland, and Villars, in a few weeks reduced to diſtreſs, was again compelled to implore the relief of the prince of Parma. That general immediately relinquiſhed the ſiege of St. Eſprit de Rue, and rapidly preſſed forwards towards Rouen. Though Henry could not conceal his mortification at being thus obliged twice to abandon a place which he had daily expected to occupy, yet conſcious of the inferior numbers of his own army, he retired from the inauſpicious walls, and waited at Pont de l'Arche the return of his nobility, who, on the former occaſion, ſeeing no

A. D. 1592.

immediate proſpect of a battle, had left his camp, and withdrawn to their reſpective provinces.

The prince of Parma, after entering Rouen in triumph, led his army againſt Caudbec, the reduction of which was thought neceſſary to complete the deliverance of the former city; but as he marked in perſon the ground for the batteries, he received a wound in his arm from a muſket ball. A fever attended the wound; and he ſcarce on his recovery had poſſeſſed himſelf of Caudbec, before he was ſenſible that his own army was expoſed to a greater danger than that from which he had relieved the citizens of Rouen. Caudbec is ſituated in the peninſula Caux, formed by the Seine on the weſt, and the ſea and the river d'Eu on the north and eaſt; and the king was no ſooner informed that the prince had committed his forces within the narrow limits of Caux, than he prepared to efface by a ſignal revenge the memory of his former diſappointments. The nobility at his ſummons had repaired with alacrity to his ſtandard; his army by their ready appearance was increaſed to ſeventeen thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. He already poſſeſſed the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, which commanded the eaſtern entrance into the peninſula; and after ſeveral ſharp encounters, he occupied the defiles to the ſouth by which the Spaniards had

had entered. With more than uſual precaution he fortified his camp againſt the deſpair of the enemy; and the prince of Parma's health no ſooner enabled him to reconnoitre the poſition of the royaliſts, than he was convinced no other expedient remained than to tranſport his troops acroſs the Seine. To paſs the broad and rapid ſtream of that river, with ſo conſiderable an army incumbered with artillery and baggage, and in ſight of a vigilant and powerful adverſary, appeared to the duke of Mayenne and the moſt experienced officers utterly impracticable; but no difficulties could depreſs the bold and inventive genius of the prince of Parma. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts; he cleared by his cannon the Seine of the Dutch ſhips which occupied it; he availed himſelf of the riſing grounds between him and the royaliſts, which ſcreened his motions from the ſight of Henry; he ſeized the favourable moment of a thick miſt, and while his cavalry threatened a ſerious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, ſafely croſſed the river; they were rapidly followed by the horſe; and the rear was ſecured from loſs or inſult by two batteries which he had judiciouſly erected.

Henry had for ſeveral days flattered himſelf with the moſt ſanguine hopes of gaining a deci-

ſive victory, and his mortification was in proportion to the confidence of his former expectations. His rival had again eluded his efforts, and poſſeſſed himſelf in his retreat to the Netherlands of Epernai, while the duke of Mayenne with a part of his forces had entered Rouen. The exhauſted ſtate of the king's finances had compelled him to diſband the majority of his army; on the frontiers of Anjou the prince of Conti was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, a zealous leaguer, and a younger branch of the houſe of Lorrain; Epernai was indeed recovered by the royaliſts, but the acquiſition was attended with the death of the mareſchal Biron, whoſe career of military glory was terminated by a cannon ball. On the other hand, in Dauphinè, Leſdaguieres, who had firmly attached himſelf to the fortunes of Henry, vanquiſhed the duke of Savoy, and purſued him to the very gates of Turin; and the duke of Joyeuſe, who commanded in Languedoc an army of ſeven thouſand men in the ſervice of the league, was routed by the royal troops under Themines, and miſerably periſhed with the greateſt part of his followers in the waters of the Tarn.

The league was induced by theſe diſaſters to ſolicit again the aſſiſtance of Spain; and the prince of Parma was once more commanded to march to the ſupport of the catholic cauſe. But the conſti-

conſtitution of that able commander was already fatally impaired by the fatigues of fourteen ſucceſſive campaigns; the wound which he had received before Caudbec had never properly healed; and while he applied with his wonted aſſiduity to haſten the neceſſary preparations for his expedition, his death deprived the king of Spain of a ſubject whoſe ſagacity and penetration had reunited to his crown great part of the Netherlands, and delivered the king of France from a rival whoſe ſplendid military talents had ſo often baffled his beſt concerted enterpriſes. On his deceaſe, the government of the Netherlands was committed to count Peter Erneſt of Manſveldt, whoſe ſon Charles led a Spaniſh army of ſeven thouſand veteran ſoldiers to the ſupport of the league, and after, in conjunction with the duke of Mayenne, reducing Noyon, returned to Flanders.

Philip had hitherto laviſhed his treaſures and the blood of his ſubjects to keep alive the flame of war in France; but the progreſs of his arms had yet been attended with no permanent advantage, and he now endeavoured by negociation to ſecure in his family the crown, the object of his ambition. His importunity had prevailed on the duke of Mayenne to aſſemble the ſtates at Paris, and the duke of Feria, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, endeavoured to perſuade A. D. 1593.

perſuade the deputies to place Iſabella, the daughter of his royal maſter, on the throne. Though even the moſt bigoted catholics abhorred a meaſure which muſt have rendered France in fact a province of Spain, yet conſcious they were unable to contend with Henry, unleſs ſupported by Philip, they ſtudiouſly concealed their averſion, and expreſſed an affected ſolicitude in regard to the perſon whom the latter prince might name for his daughter's conſort. The archduke of Auſtria they unanimouſly rejected, and declared that they never would ſubmit to her union with a foreign prince. The young duke of Guiſe, the next object of Philip's choice, was endeared to them by the name and popularity of his father; but the duke of Mayenne beheld with ſecret diſguſt his nephew preferred before his ſon; while outwardly he profeſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the propoſal, he privately determined to traverſe it; and inſiſted, both for the honour of the king of Spain and for the ſafety of the duke of Guiſe, that the election of Iſabella ſhould be deferred till an army was aſſembled ſufficient to overwhelm her enemies, and to firmly eſtabliſh her on the throne.

But while the king of Spain and the catholic chiefs were bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of negociation, both were ſurpriſed by an event as important

important as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld with anxiety the aſſembly of the ſtates, and dreaded the intrigues of the duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the catholics were confirmed by a ſeries of long and bloody hoſtilities; thoſe who hitherto acted with him, had been deluded by the hopes of his converſion; their patience was now exhauſted; and they publicly ſuggeſted the neceſſity of transferring their allegiance to the cardinal of Bourbon, the couſin of the king; deſirous of delivering his people from the calamities of war, the humanity of Henry co-operated with his ambition; even the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the proteſtant leaders, and his favourite Roſny, afterwards better known by the title of duke of Sully, exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of his ſubjects, and to relinquiſh a faith which he only could maintain amidſt ſcenes of blood and devaſtation. In conſequence of this advice, Henry invited the catholic divines throughout his kingdom to come and inſtruct him in their religion, and after being preſent at ſeveral conferences, he profeſſed himſelf ſatisfied with their arguments, heard maſs at St. Denys, read aloud his confeſſion of the catholic faith, and declared his reſolution conſtantly to maintain and defend it.

Chapter the Thirtieth.

CORONATION OF HENRY AT CHARTRES—IS ADMITTED INTO PARIS—ACQUIRES ROUEN—SIEGE OF LAON—SUBMISSION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE—ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF HENRY BY JOHN CHATEL—TREATY WITH THE DUKE OF MAYENNE—ABSOLUTION FROM THE SEE OF ROME—CALAIS TAKEN BY THE SPANIARDS—SURPRISE OF AMIENS—THAT CITY RECOVERED, AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE LEAGUE—PEACE OF VERVINS.

A. D. 1593. THE converſion of Henry ought to have enſured the ſubmiſſion of his catholic ſubjects; but the embers of civil commotion which had been waked into life by the breath of religion, were now fanned by that of ambition; and the voice of the pope, which might have extinguiſhed, ſtill continued to nouriſh the deſtruc-

deſtructive flame. Gregory the Fourteenth was indeed no more, and Innocent the Ninth, who with the power ſeemed to have ſucceeded to the implacable diſpoſition of his predeceſſor, had alſo ſunk into the grave; but Clement the Eighth, who had been elected to the honours of the pontificate, ſtill refuſed to admit the ambaſſadors of Henry, or to relieve him from the ſentence of excommunication which had been pronounced againſt him.

The duke of Mayenne and the Spaniſh miniſters, alarmed at the intelligence that Henry had entered the pale of the catholic church, reſumed their intrigues with redoubled vigour. They repreſented it to the people merely as a political device to evade the election of a catholic prince; and they perſuaded a number of their adherents to ſwear that they would not acknowledge Henry for King, unleſs his converſion was ratified by the pope; while at the ſame time they employed their influence to confirm the inflexible diſpoſition of the ſee of Rome. Philip was now more ſenſible than ever of his error in connecting himſelf with the duke of Guiſe, a young nobleman of little weight, in preference to the duke of Mayenne; he ordered his miniſters to acquaint that powerful leader, that on mature conſideration he had changed his intentions, and was determined

to

to beſtow the hand of his daughter Iſabella on his ſon.

But while Philip and the chiefs of the league endeavoured to fortify themſelves againſt the increaſing influence of the king of France, the hand of an obſcure enthuſiaſt, who earned a daily and ſlender pittance as a waterman on the Loire, was already prepared to extinguiſh their fears with the life of his ſovereign. James Barrier, for ſuch was the name of the unhappy bigot, had communicated his intentions to ſeveral of the moſt zealous eccleſiaſtics, who had eſpouſed the party of the league, and their exhortations had confirmed his reſolution; at length he revealed them to a dominican friar at Lyons, who ſtruck with horror at the crime, contrived to tranſmit to the king, with the picture of the aſſaſſin, an account of the atrocious deed that he meditated. From the reſemblance of the portrait, Barrier was diſcovered and apprehended at Meulan; and after confeſſing his guilt, and in vain endeavouring to impeach the count of Soiſſons as having ſtimulated him to the attempt, was executed as a traitor.

Though the enmity of the league was but little abated, their reſources were in a great meaſure exhauſted; they had ſolicited, and Henry had conſented to a truce for three months; this was

afterwards

afterwards extended to ſix more; and the ſweets of tranquillity which the people in this interval had taſted, rendered them ſtill more averſe to plunge again into the calamities of war. The deſcription of ſcenes, clouded by anarchy, and where an independent intereſt was maintained in almoſt every different province, cannot fail of fatiguing the patience of the reader. The duke of Savoy was routed again by Leſdaguieres, who alſo diſperſed an army of three thouſand Spaniards on the frontiers, and checked in Provence the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon; but Languedoc alone amidſt the general diſtraction was exempted from the miſeries which had afflicted the reſt of the kingdom; and the prudence of the mareſchal Montmorency, which had ſecured the peace of that province, was rewarded by the king with the ſword of conſtable.

In vain did the intrigues of the court of Spain and Rome endeavour to allay that ſatisfaction with which every honeſt catholic in France had heard the news of their ſovereign's converſion to the faith they profeſſed. Lewis de l'Hoſpital, marquis of Vitri, had on the death of Henry the Third withdrawn himſelf from the preſent king, and was by the league entruſted with the city of Meaux. He had frequently, but in vain, importuned the duke of A. D. 1594.

Mayenne

Mayenne to terminate by a peace the calamities of France; but no ſooner did Henry abjure the proteſtant religion, than he determined to follow the dictates of his conſcience, and to return to his allegiance. He commanded his garriſon to evacuate the town, and when he delivered the keys to the magiſtrates, "I ſcorn," ſaid he, "to ſteal "a place, or to make my fortune at other mens "expence; I am going to pay my duty to the "king, and I leave it in your power to act as you "pleaſe." This ſhort, but animated harangue was attended by the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the air reſounded with "Long life to "Henry the Fourth!" The flame of loyalty once kindled, ſoon imparted its warmth to the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom; and the example of Meaux was followed by the cities of Pontoiſe, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons, which ſhook off the yoke of the league, and acknowledged the authority of Henry.

The king determined to embrace the moment of returning proſperity to celebrate his coronation; Rheims was ſtill in the hands of his enemies, and Chartres was preferred for that important ceremony. It was performed by Nicolas de Thou, biſhop of that city; and was graced by the preſence of the prince of Conti, and count of Soiſſons, with the dukes of Montpenſier, Luxemburgh,

emburgh, Retz and Ventatour; it was ſcarce accompliſhed, before a new event engroſſed the attention of Henry; and while it diſſipated the viſionary projects of his adverſaries, ſeemed firmly to fix the crown on his head.

The preſence of the duke of Mayenne, and the terror of a Spaniſh garriſon, had hitherto reſtrained the fickle diſpoſition of the Pariſians, and maintained the authority of the league; but the diſorders of Picardy ſummoned the duke to that province; he had before deprived the count of Belin, whoſe inclinations he perceived to lean ſecretly towards the king, of the government of the capital, and now conferred it on Charles de Coſſe, count of Briſſac. That nobleman, impreſſed with an high and romantic reſpect for the commonwealth of Rome, the hiſtory of which he had diligently ſtudied, entertained the ſingular and chimerical project of forming France into a ſimilar republic. His deſigns had been received with cold contempt by the chiefs of the league; and alarmed, leſt, on Henry recovering his capital, he ſhould be involved in the fate of his favourite ſyſtem, the ſpirit of the ſtern republican evaporated, and Briſſac became only anxious for his intereſt and his ſafety.

To ſecure theſe, he immediately entered into a negociation with the king, and on advantageous

conditions agreed to admit the royal forces into the city of Paris. While the Spaniards were amuſed by the arts of Briſſac, the new gate was opened to Henry and his army, who inſtantly poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſquares and principal ſtreets. The Pariſians received their ſovereign with loud acclamations; the troops maintained the moſt exact diſcipline; and amidſt the revolution, the city throughout bore the appearance of peace and ſecurity. The Spaniards alone, about four thouſand in number, and commanded by the duke of Feria, ſtill occupied the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin, with the Baſtile and the Temple. Theſe they diligently fortified, and declared their reſolution, if attacked, to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but from this deſperate deſign they were ſoon diverted by Henry, who, unwilling to pollute with blood that capital which he had juſt recovered, permitted them to march out with all the honours of war.

The enemies of Henry who had reſiſted his arms, were vanquiſhed by his clemency. His generous ſpirit, ſuperior to reſentment, revolted at the idea of puniſhing thoſe who were willing to ſubmit; and he received his moſt inveterate foes with a degree of goodneſs and condeſcenſion, which for ever attached them to his ſervice.

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Even the ducheſs of Montpenſier, who had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the moſt indecent and public invectives, was admitted to his preſence, and by his familiar converſation, he endeavoured to baniſh that confuſion which ſhe could not entirely conceal; Briſſac, with a liberal pecuniary reward, was raiſed to the rank of mareſchal; l'Huillier, mayor of Paris, who had diſplayed equal, and more diſintereſted zeal, was preferred to the poſt of preſident of accounts; while a general amneſty diſſipated the fears, and reſtored tranquillity to the anxious multitude.

Villars, who had defended Rouen with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſkill and courage, ſoon after opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth. His return to his allegiance was recompenſed with the dignity of admiral, and the government of the place he had ſurrendered; Cambray, which had been wreſted from the Spaniards by the duke of Anjou, and by that prince had been bequeathed to Catherine of Medicis, was ruled with independent authority by Balagny, a French officer, whom the queen-mother had entruſted with the defence of it. The waining fortunes of the league recalled Balagny to a ſenſe of his delicate ſituation; and he was conſcious that he muſt ſeek a protector in the king of France, or of Spain; his partiality to his native country

determined him to prefer the ſupport of the former; and he acknowledged his dependance on Henry, on condition that under him he ſhould be permitted to enjoy the ſovereignty, with the title of prince of Cambray.

The duke of Mayenne, embaraſſed by the rapid deſertion of his confederates, again ſolicited the ſupport of Spain; and though Philip could no longer flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining the crown of France, his implacable enmity to Henry, and his dread leſt that monarch, when firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, ſhould revive the pretenſions of his houſe to Navarre, determined him ſtill to keep alive the flames of civil war. He detached Charles count of Manſveldt with an army of twelve thouſand men, to invade the province of Picardy; the count laid ſiege to the town of la Capelle, and before Henry could march to its aſſiſtance, the garriſon was compelled to capitulate.

The king of France had aſſembled an army of twelve thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry; and to indemnify himſelf for the loſs of la Capelle, he inveſted Laon. That city, ſtrongly fortified, and well provided, was defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by one of the braveſt officers of the league, and animated by the preſence of the count of Somerive, ſecond ſon

to the duke of Mayenne. Henry carried on his operations with his wonted ardour; and the duke of Mayenne, alarmed for the fate of the town, the moſt conſiderable that remained in his poſſeſſion, advanced to the relief of it with the Spaniſh forces, the chief command of which Philip had conferred on him; but his efforts were continually fruſtrated by the valour and activity of the mareſchal Biron, ſon to the celebrated commander who had periſhed before Epernai, and who now emulated the martial fame of his father. Mayenne, diſtreſſed for proviſions, was at length compelled to retreat; but though haraſſed, and repeatedly attacked by the ſuperior forces of the royaliſts, he maintained an undaunted countenance, repulſed by his conduct and courage the attempts of his enemies, and reached La Fere in ſafety; on his retreat, Laon, hopeleſs of ſuccour, capitulated; the garriſon was permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and Henry diſplayed his magnanimity by treating the count of Somerive with every mark of reſpect. A conduct ſo truly generous, could not but impreſs the enemies of the king with the moſt favourable ſentiments; and the duke of Guiſe, mortified at the neglect of the Spaniards, and impelled by his admiration of Henry, reconciled himſelf to his ſo-

vereign, and delivered to him the towns of Vitri, Rocroix, and Rheims.

The daily return of his ſubjects to their allegiance, and the expiring ſtate of the league, inſpired Henry with more vigorous counſels. He now publicly declared war againſt Spain, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Netherlands, who by the treaty of Utrecht had laid the foundation of a free republic under the title of the *United Provinces*. While the allies purſued their joint preparations with diligence, the enemies of Henry again reſolved to aſſail the life of that monarch; as the king in his apartments of the Louvre ſtooped to embrace a nobleman that was preſented to him, he received a ſtroke from a knife, that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth; the compoſure of Henry diſpelled the conſternation of his friends; the aſſaſſin was immediately diſcovered and ſeized. His name was John Chatel, a ſcholar of the college of the jeſuits, to the influence of whoſe doctrines he attributed his atrocious attempt. Chatel was inſtantly conſigned to the puniſhment due to his crime; father John Guignard, who was accuſed of having vindicated in his writings the right of the ſubject to attempt the life of his prince, was alſo executed; and the whole order

of the jeſuits was commanded, on the penalty of death, to quit the dominions of France.

Henry, ſtill more determined in his reſolution to proſecute the war, and A. D. 1595. to ſeek in camps that ſafety which was denied him in his own palace, entered the county of Burgundy, Dijon, the capital of which had already declared for him; but he had ſcarce poſſeſſed himſelf of Troyes, before he was informed that the Spaniards, commanded by the conſtable Velaſco, and joined by the duke of Mayenne, had paſſed the Saone. At Fontaine Françoiſe, the confederates were attacked by Henry with his wonted ardour and impetuoſity. At the head of eighteen hundred horſe and foot, the king of France carried carnage and confuſion through an army of fourteen thouſand men; but had not the caution of Velaſco reſiſted the importunities of the duke of Mayenne, neither the courage of Henry, or the fidelity of his companions, could have prevented him for being overpowered by the numbers of his enemies; but the Spaniard, intimidated by the boldneſs of his aſſailants, ſounded a retreat, left the king in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, and early next morning repaſſed the Saone. He thence purſued his march to the town of Gray, where, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne, he fortified his camp, and determined to remain on the defenſive.

But in Picardy the campaign opened with events leſs auſpicious to France. The count of Fuentes, who had been appointed by Philip governor of the Netherlands, penetrated into that province, reduced Chatelet, and endeavoured, by treachery, to poſſeſs himſelf of Ham; his troops were admitted into the town, but the caſtle ſtill reſiſted their attacks. Baffled in this enterpriſe, he pointed his march towards Dourlens, which he immediately inveſted. Senſible of the importance of that city, Admiral Villars, with a body of ſelect ſoldiers, advanced to reinforce the garriſon. He was met, encountered, and overwhelmed by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and periſhed in the field, with fifteen hundred of his companions, gallantly fighting to the laſt. Dourlens was ſoon after carried by aſſault, and the brave defenders of its walls, diſdaining to aſk quarter, were put to the ſword.

The ſucceſs which had attended Fuentes, ſerved only to inflame him with the deſire of further glory. The ſituation of Cambray has been already deſcribed, and the Spaniſh commander determined to ſignaliſe his arms by the ſiege of that city. Balagny had ſpared no expence or pains in ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place. The garriſon amounted to three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe; and the town was well furniſhed

niſhed with military ſtores and proviſions. The principal officers of Fuentes repreſented to him the danger of waſting his forces in ſo arduous an enterpriſe, but he refuſed to liſten to their remonſtrances, and began his operations without delay. They were carried on with a degree of ſkill and vigour that even vanquiſhed the reſiſtance of de Vic, whom Henry had ſent with a reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. The inhabitants, diſguſted with the extortion and inſolence of Balagny, co-operated with the arms of the Spaniards, and opened their gates to the aſſailants; the garriſon retired into the caſtle, but were ſoon compelled to ſurrender from the want of proviſions. Cambray was again reſtored to the dominions of Spain; and the tranſient ſovereignty of Balagny was extinguiſhed for ever.

In the mean while the king of France croſſed the Soane in purſuit of Velaſco, and unable to draw the conſtable from his intrenchments, extended his devaſtations over Franche Compté. From the conqueſt of that country he was diverted by the powerful mediation of the Swiſs Cantons; but the inactivity of the Spaniards awakened the jealouſy of the duke of Mayenne, who at length determined to ſeparate himſelf from allies he could no longer confide in. His inclinations had already been intimated to Henry; but Mayenne

ſtill

ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution never to effect a reconciliation till that monarch had been abſolved by the pope; Henry ſecretly ſuggeſted to him to retire to Chalons, a town ſtill in his power, till Clement ſhould relent, and aſſured him that no advantage ſhould be taken in his abſence of himſelf or his adherents; the duke had ſcarce arrived at that place, when the Roman pontiff, fully convinced that Henry was firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, abſolved him in form from the cenſures that had been pronounced againſt him by his predeceſſors.

A. D. 1596. The duke of Mayenne immediately threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, and vowed a fidelity which he ever afterwards inviolably preſerved. The duke of Guiſe in Provence equally diſplayed by actions the ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion; he ſurpriſed Marſeilles, checked the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon, who had aſſumed the ſtyle of independence, and reduced that haughty chieftain to implore the clemency of his royal maſter. Henry himſelf, after his return from Franche Compté, had entered Picardy, and inveſted La Fere; the ſtrength of the fortifications, and the number of the garriſon, had determined him to relinquiſh his hopes of carrying it by aſſault, and to depend on the ſlow but certain effects of famine. The Spaniards,

Spaniards, commanded by the archduke Albert, in whoſe favour Philip had ſuperſeded the count de Fuentes, abandoned the impracticable deſign of preſerving La Fere, and formed the reſolution of beſieging ſome other frontier town which might compenſate for the loſs of that place. The ſieur de Ronè, a native of France, and a zealous officer of the league, who had been refuſed by Henry the rank of mareſchal, repreſented the defenceleſs ſtate of Calais, and urged the archduke to aſpire to that important acquiſition. Albert yielded to his ſuggeſtions, and entruſted the conduct of the enterpriſe to de Ronè himſelf, whoſe bold and active genius, and diſtinguiſhed ſkill in war, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

To deceive Henry, the archduke ſtill affected to meditate the relief of La Fere, and began his march towards that place, while de Ronè ſuddenly turned to Calais with a body of ſelect troops, and poſſeſſed himſelf, after a faint reſiſtance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and the harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards ſoon penetrated into the ſuburbs and occupied the town; and the caſtle alone reſiſted the arms of the beſiegers. To reinforce the garriſon of that fortreſs, Matalet, governor of Foix, had opened a paſſage

paſſage for himſelf and three hundred companions through the lines of the enemy. But even this additional force was not capable of withſtanding the attacks of the Spaiards, and Henry endured the mortification of beholding the banners of Spain diſplayed from the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he had advanced from La Fere at the head of his cavalry to the ſupport of the beſieged.

Henry immediately returned to preſs the ſiege of La Fere, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, led his troops againſt the town of Ardres. The ſtrength of that place, it was reaſonably expected, might have reſiſted the arms of the Spaniards till La Fere had ſurrendered; and the garriſon at firſt diſplayed their valour in repeated vigorous ſallies; but no ſooner had the troops of Spain poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſuburbs, than the marquis of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, baſely yielding to his his fears, propoſed to his officers to capitulate. Though the propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the majority of the council, yet the marquis availing himſelf of his ſuperior authority, offered to open his gates on condition that the garriſon ſhould march out with the honours of war; Albert readily agreed; and the capitulation was

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ſigned the day that preceded the ſurrender of La Fere.

From that place the king of France had rapidly preſſed forwards with an army, ſwelled by the zeal of his nobility, and with the moſt ſanguine expectations of raiſing the ſiege of Ardres. His hopes were clouded by the mortifying intelligence of the ſhameful capitulation of the marquis of Belin; with the approbation of his principal officers, he ſtill however continued to advance to compel his enemy if poſſible to give battle; but Albert, after placing ſtrong garriſons in the towns he had taken, and unwilling to hazard a deciſive engagement with Henry, retired from the dominions of France into the province of Artois; and the king, after taking the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault, and making an ineffectual attempt on Arras, returned to his capital, and left mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſix thouſand troops, to ſecure the frontiers of Picardy.

That enterpriſing officer did not long confine his operations to the cautious ſyſtem which had been recommended to him. He entered the province of Artois, retaliated on that country the injuries of France, and ſpread the terror of his arms along the ſouthern frontier of the Netherlands. The archduke had for ſome time been employed in the ſiege of Hulſt, but no ſooner had

had he accompliſhed the reduction of that place, than he detached the marquis of Varambon, with a conſiderable body of forces, to check the deſtructive progreſs of the French. Biron informed that the marquis was on his march to offer battle, advanced rapidly to meet him; his ſkilful evolutions confounded and vanquiſhed his antagoniſt; the Spaniards deluded into an ambuſcade, were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and Varambon himſelf became a captive to the French; the duke d'Arſchot, who was appointed to ſucceed him, and to reſtore the honour of the Spaniſh arms, though he avoided the fate of his predeceſſor, was reduced to remain a ſpectator of the deſtruction of the country, which the cavalry of Biron ſtill continued to inſult and ravage till the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

The ſatisfaction which Henry derived from the ſucceſs of his generals, was alloyed by the factious and aſpiring diſpoſition of his nobles. The eaſy temper of the duke of Montpenſier recommended him to the nobility of France as a proper repreſentative to carry their injurious propoſals to the throne. The duke, in an audience from Henry, ſtudiouſly dwelt on the dangerous ſtate of the kingdom, and the difficulties that ſtill obſtructed the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity; he added,

added, one meaſure ſtill remained; to reſign to the different governors the hereditary right of the provinces they preſided over, and to require of them only homage and allegiance; the zeal and gratitude of theſe dependant princes would for ever attach them to his ſervice, and the troops they would conſtantly maintain for his ſupport, would enable him to triumph over his foreign enemies. The king remained ſome moments in ſilent indignation, but no ſooner had the emotions of anger and aſtoniſhment ſubſided, than he declared his reſolution rather to ſubmit to the moſt adverſe fortune, than conſent to a propoſal that would fix only an empty ſceptre in his hand, and reduce him to the ſhadow of royalty. His reproaches awakened the duke of Montpenſier to a juſt ſenſe of his temerity; he implored the forgiveneſs of his ſovereign; and by his future fidelity diſconcerted the deſigns of thoſe who had allured him to act a part ſo unworthy a prince of the blood.

Joyeuſe, who had quitted the habit of a monk to reſume that of a ſoldier, A. D. 1597. now with the ſame facility deſerted the declining fortunes of the league, opened the gates of Thouloufe, and returned to his allegiance to his ſovereign. The duke of Nemours had already entertained the ſame intention, when his negocia-

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tions were interrupted by the ſtroke of death; his brother however continued the treaty that he had began, and reconciled himſelf to the crown; but while the king from theſe examples flattered himſelf with the hourly expectations of beholding the royal authority firmly eſtabliſhed, his fortitude was ſeverely exerciſed by an unexpected diſaſter that cooled the ardour of his newly acquired friends, and revived the fainting hopes of the league.

Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had lately ſubmitted to the king of France, and the citizens with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garriſoned by regular troops; their ſubſequent conduct proved how unworthy they were of the honourable truſt repoſed in them. Of fifteen thouſand inhabitants who were enrolled, only a few were employed as centinels and guards, and even thoſe performed their duty in the moſt remiſs manner. Their negligence had not eſcaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer brave and enterpriſing, and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his ſituation, planned a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Amiens. With three thouſand horſe and foot he marched from Dourlens, and, concealed by the darkneſs of the night, reached at dawn an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capi-

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tal of Picardy. Twelve of his moſt reſolute ſoldiers, diſguiſed as peaſants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were ſent forwards as ſoon as the gates of the city were opened; ſome nuts which they carried, and affected accidentally to ſpill, amuſed the guards; a waggon which they had driven, and intentionally ſtopt in the gateway, prevented the portcullis from being let down; they fell with fury on the aſtoniſhed centinels, were ſoon ſupported by Portocarrero, and his troops, who ruſhed forwards to join them; and after a feeble reſiſtance, and the ſlaughter of about an hundred citizens, Amiens ſubmitted to the arms of the Spaniards.

The loſs of a city ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided, and ſo near to Paris, ſtruck Henry with conſternation. Calais, one of his principal ſea-ports, was already in the poſſeſſion of Spain, and by their preſent conqueſt the forces of Philip might extend their incurſions to the very gates of his capital. Though labouring under a ſevere indiſpoſition, the conſequence of his too licentious amours, the king renounced the care of his perſon, to provide for the defence of his kingdom; he determined to poſtpone every other conſideration to the recovery of Amiens, and immediately ordered mareſchal Biron to inveſt the town with whatever forces he could draw from

the neighbouring garriſons, while he himſelf returned to Paris to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the proſecution of this enterpriſe.

The abilities of the baron de Roſny, to whom Henry had entruſted the regulation of his finances, ſurmounted every obſtacle, and repleniſhed the exhauſted coffers of his ſovereign; the zeal of the duke of Mayenne was eminently diſplayed to ſecond the efforts of a monarch whom he had ſo long oppoſed; the friendſhip of Elizabeth had reinforced him with four thouſand troops; and the indefatigable induſtry of the mareſchal Biron, jealous of the preſence of the king, and inſatiate of military fame, had already rendered the blockade complete, and rapidly advanced the ſiege, when Henry himſelf joined the army. Conſcious of the haughty ſpirit of Biron, he ſuffered him ſtill to retain the command; but though the beſiegers carried on their operations with redoubled ardour and alacrity, yet the garriſon diſputed every inch of ground with incredible obſtinacy; the death of Portocarrero, who fell in a deſperate ſally, diminiſhed not their confidence, and the defence was conducted with the ſame ſkill and ſpirit as before by the marquis de Montenegro.

Henry already had ſtruggled for five months with every difficulty that the experience or courage of the beſieged could oppoſe, when he was at length

alarmed by the approach of the archduke, who, at the command of Philip, with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, preſſed forwards to the relief of Amiens, and appeared in ſight of the French camp; the mareſchal Biron, tranſported by his uſual ardour, adviſed the king to accept their offer of battle; his counſel was oppoſed by the cautious remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne: "Sire," ſaid he, "you came to take "Amiens, and not to fight." Henry for once preferred the voice of prudence to that of glory; he kept within his intrenchments; the archduke, after ineffectually endeavouring to provoke him to action, retired to Arras, and reſigned Amiens to its fate, which ſoon after ſurrendered to the French.

From the reduction of Amiens, and inſulting the province of Artois, Henry turned his arms againſt Dourlens; the vigilance of Albert had already provided that city with every thing neceſſary to its defence, and the king had ſcarce commenced the ſiege before he repented of his enterpriſe. The troops were haraſſed by the fatigues they had ſuſtained before Amiens; diſeaſes and diſcontent began to prevail through the camp; the works were retarded by a ſeries of unfavourable weather; and the roads naturally heavy, by inceſſant rains were rendered impaſſa-

ble to the artillery; the king, convinced of his error, abandoned the hopeleſs attempt; and after diſbanding the majority of his forces, and leaving his cavalry for the defence of the frontier, he returned to Paris.

A. D. 1598. The greateſt part of the kingdom had acknowledged the authority of Henry, but in Brittany the league ſtill nouriſhed the flames of ſedition, and the fire was ſecretly fed by the counſels and influence of Philip duke of Mercœur, of the houſe of Lorrain. For two ſucceſſive years that prince, while he profeſſed the moſt profound reſpect for the throne, had maintained a proud and dangerous independence; but the king, determined to extinguiſh theſe ſparks of civil commotion, aſſembled his forces on the return of ſpring, and had already advanced to Angers, when his further progreſs was rendered unneceſſary by the ſubmiſſion of the ſtates of Brittany and the duke of Mercœur. The former expelled the Spaniards from the few towns they ſtill held, and reſtored the royal authority; the latter, while he implored the clemency of his ſovereign, intereſted in his favour the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, the favourite miſtreſs of Henry. The duke offered to beſtow the hand of his daughter, the heireſs of his vaſt eſtates, on Cæſar, the natural ſon of that lady by Henry.

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The nuptials were celebrated with princely magnificence at Angers; the ſubmiſſive proteſtations of the duke of Mercœur were accepted; and his former errors were conſigned to oblivion.

The recovery of Amiens and the extinction of the league, opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of thoſe flattering dreams of conqueſt by which he had been ſo long deluded. His advanced age and broken health warned him of his approaching end, and he was unwilling to leave his inexperienced ſucceſſor involved in a bloody and dangerous war. Peace on the other hand was no leſs deſirable to Henry, and ſome reſpite was required to cloſe the wounds under which his kingdom had bled for ſo many years. The mediation of Clement, as the common father of both princes, was accepted; at the requeſt of the Roman pontiff a congreſs was held by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain at Vervins, a town in Picardy; though the queen of England and the ſtates of Holland offered Henry the moſt effectual ſupport for the continuance of the war, he declined, with every profeſſion of gratitude, a ſyſtem which he declared muſt end in the utter ruin of his kingdom; and after ſeveral difficulties which the zeal of Clement was ſucceſſfully employed in removing, Henry ſigned a peace, by which he relinquiſhed indeed his claims

on Cambray, but obtained the reſtitution of Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, that Philip had acquired at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

Chapter the Thirty-firſt.

CHARACTER OF MARGARET OF VALOIS—DOMESTIC UNEASINESS OF HENRY—HIS CONNECTION WITH GABRIELLE D'ESTREES—HER DEATH—WAR WITH THE DUKE OF SAVOY—DIVORCE AND MARRIAGE OF HENRY—CONSPIRACY AND FATE OF THE MARESCHAL BIRON—DEATH OF ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND—SUBMISSION OF THE DUKE OF BOUILLON—PASSION OF HENRY FOR THE PRINCESS OF CONDE—HIS DESIGNS AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA—HIS ASSASSINATION BY RAVILLIAC.

THE peace of Vervins had reſtored tranquillity to the ſubjects of France; A. D. 1598. but the amiable qualities of Henry could not enſure that happineſs in private life, that his courage and conſtancy had commanded in public

Previous to the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, he had formed a political union with Margaret, ſiſter to Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third; a princeſs who united all the virtues and vices of the family of Valois, from whence ſhe ſprung. The beauty of her perſon inſpired paſſion and deſire in the coldeſt boſom; her genius and imagination were celebrated by all the poets of her time; ſhe ſung and played on the lute with exquiſite ſkill; and in dancing no lady of the court was her equal; but ſo violent was her love of pleaſure, that at twelve years old ſhe had ſacrificed to it her honour; Entragues, Charry, the prince of Martigues, and the duke of Guiſe, had been ſucceſſively admitted to her moſt intimate favours, previous to her marriage with Henry; and mingling the fervours of religion, with the exceſſes of diſſipation, her hours afterwards were alternately occupied by enthuſiaſtic devotion, and unreſtrained ſenſuality.

While Margaret ſtretched her dominion over the multitude that admired and adored her, ſhe had never been able to touch the heart of Henry, on whom indeed, at the command of her brother Charles, ſhe had beſtowed her hand with extreme reluctance, and to whom her irregularities were no ſecret. That monarch, who had broken the formidable confederacy of the league, and affixed bounds

bounds to the ambition of Spain, was himſelf the captive of the fair. His character bore a ſtriking reſemblance to that of Francis the Firſt; and he was always flattered and charmed by the compariſon. Like Francis, he had early engaged in a variety of promiſcuous amours; but for ſome time paſt, his unlimited homage had been paid to the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, on whom he had ſucceſſively beſtowed the titles of marchioneſs of Monceaux and ducheſs of Beaufort. Two ſons and a daughter were the fruits of their illicit commerce; and Henry, deſirous of eſtabliſhing in his offspring the peaceable ſucceſſion of the crown, even entertained thoughts of legitimating his natural children, and dividing his throne with the miſtreſs of his affections.

The queen, who for ſeveral years had reſided at Uſſon, a caſtle in Auvergne, had already conſented to the diſſolution of a marriage, the effect of conſtraint; and the Roman pontiff readily liſtened to a meaſure calculated to promote the future tranquillity of France; yet both Margaret and Clement expreſſed the moſt pointed diſapprobation, when informed that the ducheſs of Beaufort was intended to be raiſed to the vacant bed of Henry. The paſſion of the king would probably have triumphed over all oppoſition, and have placed A. D. 1599.

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the crown on the head of his miſtreſs, when his fame was preſerved from this degrading inſtance of weakneſs, by an event as deciſive as it was unexpected. While the ducheſs of Beaufort, in the vigour of health and pride of beauty, feaſted her imagination with the grandeur of royalty, the viſionary proſpect was diſſolved by the hand of death. In the abſence of Henry ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with convulſions, and expired a ſpectacle too horrid for deſcription.

Henry, on the intelligence of her fate, abandoned himſelf to all the tranſports of ſorrow; but that conſolation, which was vainly proffered by the attention of his courtiers, he derived from time and the duties of his ſtation. His ancient and inveterate enemy, Philip, had ſunk into the grave; but the latent embers of commotion, which ſtill lurked in the boſom of France, required all the care of the monarch to extinguiſh. Previous to the peace of Vervins, he had endeavoured to ſecure the tranquillity of the proteſtants by the celebrated edict of Nantz. It granted to the reformed, all the favours in which they had been indulged by former princes, and added a free admiſſion to all employments of truſt, profit, and honour; an eſtabliſhment of chambers of juſtice, in which the members of the two religions were equal; and permiſſion to educate their children,

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without reſtraint, in any of the univerſities. Yet even theſe liberal conditions could not entirely baniſh that jealouſy which the hugonots had conceived on the king's abandoning their faith; and already their intrigues had reached the ear, and awakened the vigilance of Henry.

On the death of the ducheſs of Beaufort, Margaret had profeſſed an entire obedience to the will of her royal conſort, and Clement had pronounced her marriage, as the effect of conſtraint, illegal and void; but the king was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a ſecond union, by a paſſion for Henriette de Balzac, daughter to de Balzac-Entragues, by Mary Touchet, the celebrated miſtreſs of Charles the Ninth; to this lady Henry transferred that affection which he had ſo lately vowed to the ducheſs of Beaufort; he created her marchioneſs of Verneuil, and even delivered to her a promiſe of marriage; yet the moments allotted to pleaſure, diminiſhed not his application to buſineſs, and the intrigues of the duke of Savoy ſummoned him from the embraces of his miſtreſs to the cares of a throne.

The duke of Savoy, emboldened by the late diſtracted ſtate of France, had embraced the moment of civil commotion to poſſeſs himſelf of the Marquiſate of Saluces. On the treaty of Vervins, he had agreed to ſubmit his pretenſions to the arbitration

bitration of pope Clement; but had conſtantly eluded a deciſion, which he was conſcious muſt deſpoil him of the territory that he had thus daringly uſurped. Truſting to the arts of negociation, and the addreſs for which he was eminent, he embraced the reſolution of preſenting himſelf at Paris, and treating with Henry in perſon. Though the king would readily have diſpenſed with, he could not decently decline, the honour of the propoſed viſit; and in a court gallant, profuſe, and ſplendid, the magnificence, liberality, and conciliating manners of the duke, ſoon attached to his intereſt the principal favourites and miſtreſſes of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil eſpouſed his pretenſions with ardour; but the mind of Henry was ſteeled againſt the importunities of that lady, by a juſt ſenſe of the dignity of his crown, and by the remonſtrances of his miniſter, the baron de Roſny, whoſe inflexible integrity was ſuperior to all the allurements of corruption.

A. D. 1600. After laviſhing the immenſe ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns in preſents to the rapacious minions of a court, the duke of Savoy retired from Paris, and prepared to aſſert by arms, what he had vainly hoped to have acquired by negociation. He had indeed already entered into a cloſe and ſecret connection

tion with the mareſchal de Biron; but the military ardour and vanity of that commander could not be reſtrained even by the intereſt of his new ally. The duke of Savoy in an inſtant beheld Breſſe, Savoy, and Nice, deluged by the forces of France; Miolans ſurrendered to the king; the baron de Roſny, whom Henry had appointed grand-maſter of artillery, reduced Montmelian, a fortreſs which the duke had conſidered as impregnable; and St. Catherine's, in the ſtrength of which he equally confided, was, in the depth of winter, taken by the mareſchal de Biron. Theſe ſucceſſive diſaſters humbled the haughty ſpirit of the duke; and overwhelmed in the unequal conflict, and deſerted by the court of Spain, which had promiſed to ſupport him, he reſumed the thoughts of peace; and implored the mediation of the pope to extricate him from a war in which he had thus raſhly engaged.

The ardent paſſion of Henry for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the miſery that he had experienced in his former marriage, rendered him extremely averſe to a ſecond. The remonſtrances of his miniſters, and his concern for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him permiſſion to negociate an union with Mary de Medicis, niece to the grand-duke of Tuſcany. Senſible of his irreſolution, the commiſſioners on whom

whom he had devolved this important truſt, haſtened to conclude it. Their zeal outſtripped the wiſhes and expectations of Henry; and he heard, with mingled regret and ſurpriſe, that they had ſigned a treaty of marriage with that princeſs. His own honour and the happineſs of his people allowed him not to retract; he haſtened to Lyons to receive the hand of Mary; and whatever might be his private feelings, he diſcovered to his royal conſort no emotions but thoſe of reſpect and regard.

A. D. 1601. The marriage of Henry was followed by a treaty with the duke of Savoy, who, diſappointed in that aſſiſtance which he expected from Spain, and equally deprived of that aid with which he had flattered himſelf from the diſcontents of the factious nobles of France, found himſelf no longer able to ſupport the unequal conteſt; for the marquiſate of Saluces, which he was permitted to retain, he conſented to cede to Henry the country of Breſſe, an extenſive territory on the banks of the Rhone, and to pay one hundred thouſand crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Yet while the duke ſubmitted to the arms of France, he did not relinquiſh the intrigues that he had entered into with the aſpiring chiefs of that kingdom. The principal of theſe were the

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dukes d'Bouillon d'Epernon, and the mareſchal Biron. That celebrated commander, whoſe ſplendid exploits eclipſed the military fame of his father, and who openly boaſted that his arm had fixed the ſceptre in the hand of Henry, had long ſecretly laboured to undermine the edifice that his valour had erected, and his blood cemented. Born for the camp, he delighted in war, and excelled in every martial exerciſe; but the reſtleſs ſoldier diſdained the calm acquiſition of ſcience; and while he aſpired to the higheſt honours of the ſtate, was almoſt as illiterate as the meaneſt centinel. In action he was brave, indefatigable, vigilant, and abſtemious; but with his armour he ſeemed to lay aſide every virtue, and diſplayed a diſpoſition, vain, envious, and arrogant; no revenue was ſufficient to ſupply his boundleſs extravagance; and his fatal attachment to gaming, is reported to have ſwallowed, within the compaſs of one year, the immenſe ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns. His correſpondence with the duke of Savoy, had not entirely eſcaped the vigilant eye of Henry; and at Lyons that monarch had reproached him with his ſeditious deſigns. Biron affected frankly to confeſs the imprudence of his conduct. His profeſſions of repentance, and his proteſtations of future fidelity, diſarmed the indignation of his

ſovereign,

ſovereign, mindful of former ſervices. By a large pecuniary donative, Henry endeavoured to awaken his gratitude; and ſenſible that his active ſpirit could ill brook a life of indolence, he ſtrove to divert him from the dangerous practices that he had engaged in, by appointing him, firſt ambaſſador to Elizabeth, and afterwards to the Swiſs Cantons.

A. D. 1601. 1602. The birth of a ſon, while it afforded a ſource of domeſtic ſatisfaction to Henry, and opened to his people the pleaſing proſpect of a peaceable ſucceſſion, ſerved at the ſame time to quicken the deſigns of thoſe, who, impatient of tranquil rule, aſſociated in the moſt formidable cabals againſt the throne. The mareſchal Biron had no ſooner returned from executing the commiſſions that had been entruſted to him, than he reſumed with redoubled ardour his ambitious projects; he entered into an alliance with the courts of Spain and Turin; he cloſely connected himſelf with the duke of Bouillon, who, by his marriage, had obtained the principality of Sedan; and united in his treaſonable enterpriſe, Charles count d'Auvergne, grand prior of France, and natural ſon to Charles the Ninth. Haughty and ſupercilious in his natural demeanour, Biron now affected the garb of courteſy, and aſſiduouſly laboured to ingratiate himſelf in the hearts of the

multitude. The improper nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities, at the influence of the miſtreſs of the king; the public neglect of the reformed, by a prince who had abjured their tenets, and who meditated their extirpation; but above all, the numerous impoſts which were daily multiplied by the ſovereign on an oppreſſed people, were the favourite topics of the mareſchal, and were induſtriouſly circulated by his adherents in factious murmurs through the provinces. The ſeditious vapour ſoon ſpread itſelf over the countries of Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Guienne, and Languedoc; the animated countenance of Henry was clouded with anxiety; gaiety and pleaſure were baniſhed from a court long diſtinguiſhed by its ſuperior gallantry and ſplendour; and the brooding tempeſt of revolt was foretold by every indication of ſuſpicion and diſcontent.

The ſplendid proſpects that Biron contemplated in the conſciouſneſs of his own military talents, and the power and influence of his confederates, were blaſted by one fatal inſtance of miſplaced confidence. La Fin, a native of Burgundy, and deſcended from a reſpectable family in that province, was diſtinguiſhed by a diſpoſition daring, indefatigable, and intriguing. He had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the

mareſchal, and had been employed both by Biron, and the duke of Bouillon, in their moſt ſecret negociations with Spain and Savoy; but he had lately regarded with jealouſy the aſcendancy which the baron de Lux had acquired over the mind of his patron; and in a moment of diſguſt, he revealed to Henry the whole of a conſpiracy, the wheels of which he was no longer permitted to direct.

The king read with aſtoniſhment the black ſcrowl, which contained the names of the moſt illuſtrious nobles of France. Some of theſe had actually embarked in the daring projects of Biron; others, by their known diſcontent, had afforded reaſon to expect they would join the ſtandard of revolt, as ſoon as it was erected; and the remainder were probably added by the creative genius of La Fin, deſirous of magnifying the importance of his perfidy: yet the danger was great and immediate; and the king determined to viſit the different provinces of Poitiers, Limoſin, and Guienne, to awe by his preſence the ſeditious ſpirit of the people, and to obtain more perfect information of the ſchemes of the mareſchal. Each day convinced him, that he tottered on the brink of a precipice; and after a ſhort reſidence at Blois, he returned to Fontainbleau, determined to cruſh the infant conſpiracy,

ſpiracy, before it was ſtrengthened by the troops and treaſures of Spain and Savoy.

On his return from Switzerland, the mareſchal Biron had retired to his government of Burgundy, and diligently applied himſelf to ſecure and ſtrengthen the moſt important cities in that province. Confiding in the affection of the inhabitants, and in the fidelity of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the command of the fortified places, he conſidered that country as an immediate retreat, ſhould his deſigns be diſcovered before his confederates were prepared to ſupport him; but of this reſource he was deprived by an artifice of the baron de Roſny; under pretence of new-caſting the cannon throughout Burgundy, that miniſter, as grand-maſter, had obtained from the mareſchal the artillery which belonged to his government; but no ſooner were theſe tranſported beyond the juriſdiction of Biron, than Roſny ſtopped the new, with which he had promiſed to replace them. The rage of Biron on this occaſion broke forth in open menaces, and his ſuſpicions were ſoon after awakened by intelligence of the private conference that La Fin had held with the king; but he ſuffered himſelf again to be deluded by that traitor's proteſtations that he had not betrayed him, and that Henry was by no means appriſed of his deſigns. He was alſo conſcious, that ſhould his ſo-

vereign march againſt him, and declare him a rebel, he was no longer capable of reſiſtance; actuated by the powerful motives of hope and fear, he obeyed the royal ſummons, and with his aſſociate, the count d'Auvergne, repaired to the court at Fontainbleau.

The mind of Henry, on the arrival of the mareſchal, was ſuſpended by the conflicting paſſions of gratitude and reſentment. When he called to remembrance the former ſervices of Biron, and the dangers that they had ſhared together, his feelings drowned the ſtern voice of juſtice, and he determined to pardon the ambition of a man to whoſe valour he had been ſo eminently indebted; but when the calamities of civil war, from which his kingdom had ſcarce emerged, preſented themſelves to his view; when he conſidered the welfare of his people, and the infant ſtate of his ſon, both endangered by the reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition of Biron, the duty of a ſovereign and the affection of a parent, loudly exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of millions, by the ſacrifice of one obnoxious perſon: yet he beheld the unhappy victim with tenderneſs and compaſſion; and while he treated him with every mark of regard, he endeavoured, in converſation, to lead him to a full confeſſion of his guilt, and

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to juſtify the clemency that he ſtill panted to exerciſe, by his ſincerity and contrition.

Yet the friendly admonitions of the monarch could not bend a temper naturally ſtubborn and haughty; encouraged by the aſſurances of La Fin, the mareſchal maintained a ſullen reſerve, and aſſumed the tone of inſulted integrity; he perſevered in declaring, that ſince the confeſſion at Lyons, he had nothing to accuſe his conſcience with; and Henry, fatigued with unavailing exhortations, at length reſolved to give way to the courſe of juſtice; mareſchal Biron and the count d'Auvergne were arreſted as they withdrew from the king's apartment, and were conveyed to the Baſtile. A commiſſion was directed to the parliament to examine into their conduct; and the proofs of their guilt were clear and poſitive; the very treaty with Spain, which Biron had ſubſcribed, and which he firmly believed that La Fin had deſtroyed, was produced againſt him. His judges unanimouſly, though reluctantly, pronounced ſentence of death. The intreaties of his friends prevailed on the king to change the place of execution; he was beheaded in the court of the Baſtile; and, in his laſt moments, diſgraced by alternate ſallies of rage, and agonies of terror, the character of Intrepid, which he had acquired amidſt the greateſt dangers of war.

The count d'Auvergne had been involved in the ſame ſentence as the mareſchal Biron; but regard for the brother of his miſtreſs, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and reſpect for the laſt male deſcendant of the race of Valois, induced Henry not only to grant him his life, but alſo to alleviate the rigour of his confinement, and at length inſenſibly to reſtore him to freedom; a clemency which the ſubſequent intrigues of the count repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude. Of the other conſpirators, the principal threw themſelves at the feet of their ſovereign, who not only freely pardoned their imprudence, but even concealed from reproach their names; the multitude found ſhelter in their numbers and obſcurity; and the baron de Fontenelles alone, by a public and painful death, was doomed to atone for his treaſonable intention of delivering the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards.

It was not alone in detecting the dangerous deſigns of his foreign and domeſtic enemies, that the vigilance of Henry was exerciſed; the internal regulation of his kingdom claimed and obtained his unwearied attention. Regularity was introduced into the finances, by the integrity and induſtry of his favourite miniſter, the baron de Roſny; new manufactures were eſtabliſhed, colonies planted, commerce extended, and agriculture reſtored; the rage of duelling, which had

proved mortal to ſome of the moſt gallant ſpirits of France, was at the ſame time reſtrained by new edicts; but it could not be diſguiſed, that the king, educated in camps, and impreſſed with lively notions of honour, too often ſanctioned by his expreſſions that fatal practice which his laws were framed to repreſs.

The tempeſt of civil commotion, which had alarmed France, was alſo felt in England. The conſpiracy and execution of the mareſchal de Biron, was preceded by the preſumption and fate of Eſſex, the favourite of Elizabeth; but though the queen, jealous of her authority, ſigned his final doom, ſhe never could eraſe from her heart that fond partiality, which ſhe had ever evinced towards him. Oppreſſed by a ſorrow which ſhe affected to conceal, but which inceſſantly preyed upon her body, her frail conſtitution at length gave way to the emotions of her mind. During the latter hours of her life, the pride of royalty was overwhelmed by the torrent of returning affection; for ſeveral days ſhe rejected all conſolation, and even refuſed food and ſuſtenance. The few words ſhe uttered were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief that ſhe cared not to reveal; and in the ſeventieth year of her age, ſhe cloſed a reign of vigour, conſtancy, vigilance, A. D. 1603.

and addreſs, the victim of a romantic paſſion, ſcarce credible in a love-ſick girl.

Henry, who had ever entertained the moſt profound ſentiments of regard and reſpect for Elizabeth, and who had concerted with that princeſs the depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, deplored the death of his old and faithful ally with a ſincerity ſeldom found in royal boſoms. His cloſe connections with England rendered it of importance to him to acquire a thorough knowledge of the diſpoſition of her ſucceſſor; and he diſpatched the Marquis de Roſny to congratulate James the Firſt, who, by his acceſſion to the throne, united the dominions of England and Ireland to thoſe of Scotland; the feeble and temporizing diſpoſition of that monarch, could not be concealed from the penetrating genius of Roſny; always negociating, and never daring to act, he ſuffered that power to become contemptible in his hands, which might have commanded the reſpect of the haughty Spaniard, and repreſſed the overweening arrogance of the houſe of Auſtria. Enamoured of peace, he conſidered the attainment of it as the only true object of a ſtateſman's labours; and though he agreed with Roſny ſecretly to ſupport the united ſtates, in concert with the king of France, leſt their weakneſs ſhould oblige them to ſubmit to their old maſter, yet that miniſter ſoon acquainted

Henry,

Henry, that he muſt not too implicitly depend on the exertions of a prince who continually expreſſed his dread leſt he ſhould be reproached as the abettor of rebels.

Wearied by inceſſant importunities, A. D. 1604. the king of France conſented to reſtore the jeſuits, and to demoliſh the pillar which had been erected to perpetuate the atrocious attempt of Chatel, and the dangerous principles of the order that he belonged to. But this freſh inſtance of the placable diſpoſition of the ſovereign could not extinguiſh the embers of diſcontent which ſtill lurked in his kingdom. The duke of Bouillon had deeply engaged in the conſpiracy of the mareſchal Biron, and to avoid the ſtorm which he beheld gathering, had retired to his principality of Sedan; he now reſumed his correſpondence with the court of Spain and with the count d'Avergne. That nobleman, unmindful of the clemency which he had ſo lately experienced, involved in his intrigues his ſiſter the marchioneſs of Verneuil, the favourite miſtreſs of the king, and her father Francis d'Entragues, on whom Henry had beſtowed the rank of mareſchal, as the price of the promiſe of marriage he had imprudently given to the daughter. Their deſigns were detected and diſconcerted by the vigilance of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil was for

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ſome days confined to her houſe; but the paſſion of the man triumphed over the juſtice of the ſovereign, and Henry ſoon flew to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of the haughty beauty whoſe chains he found it impoſſible to break; D'Entragues, who had been condemned to loſe his head, was indebted for his life to the charms of his daughter; and the protecting influence of the fair was even extended to her brother the count d'Auvergne, whoſe ſentence of expiating his repeated guilt on a public ſcaffold, was commuted to the milder doom of perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1605. But when the vigorous mind of Henry was not faſcinated by the charms of female beauty, he well knew how to render his authority reſpected by his ſubjects, and to curb the wild deſigns of ingratitude and ambition. The duke of Bouillon for four ſucceſſive years had evaded every ſummons to appear at court, and the king determined by his preſence to humble that haughty ſubject. He directed his courſe through the counties of Auvergne and Limoſin; and Bouillon, aſtoniſhed at the rapid approach of his ſovereign, and unprepared for reſiſtance, ordered the governors of the different towns that belonged to him to open their gates, and diſarmed the immediate reſentment of

of Henry by the apparent ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion.

But Henry had ſcarce returned to Paris before he was juſtly incenſed A. D. 1506. by repeated inſtances of the duke's reſtleſs and diſcontented diſpoſition. It was with reluctance that he prepared to reduce by arms a man whom the proteſtants looked up to as the chief of their religion, and from whom he himſelf had formerly received conſiderable ſervices. But the preſent tranquillity of his kingdom, and the ſucceſs of the lofty deſigns that he began already to meditate, all concurred in prompting him to meaſures the moſt vigorous and deciſive. With a train of artillery, which he entruſted to the command of his miniſter Roſny, whom on this occaſion he created duke of Sully, and with a ſmall but well appointed body of veteran forces, the king of France preſſed forwards to Sedan. To the laſt moment the vanity of the duke of Bouillon had ſuggeſted to him the language of reſiſtance; but with the approach of danger, the haughty ſpirit of that nobleman began to ſubſide; the inſincerity of Spain he was too well acquainted with; and the proteſtants, inſtead of arming in his defence, flocked to the royal ſtandard; nothing now remained but to ſubmit to a power with which it would have been madneſs to have contended;

tended; in the generous and clement diſpoſition of his ſovereign, he ſtill found that reſource which his obſtinacy allowed him little reaſon to expect; the inhabitants of Sedan, with the duke, took the oath of fidelity to the king of France; a royal garriſon and governor were to be maintained within the walls for four years; and Bouillon, after having ſo long defied, eſteemed himſelf happy in eſcaping the vengeance of his prince on ſuch favourable conditions.

The good fortune which attended Henry in public, preſerved him alſo in private life. An unfortunate wretch, whom inſanity had impelled againſt the life of that monarch, was diſarmed by his attendants, and by the humanity of Henry was diſmiſſed to gentle confinement, and to that care which his melancholy ſituation required. In croſſing the river Neuilly, the royal carriage, by the ſpirit of the horſes, was precipitated from the ferry-boat, and overturned in the middle of the ſtream; the king, the queen, the duke of Vendoſme, and the princeſs of Conti were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. They were reſcued by the zeal and alacrity of their retinue; and Henry himſelf, after ſafely gaining the ſhore, plunged again into the river to extricate his conſort.

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But while the multitude exulted at A. D. 1607. 1608. the ſafety of a ſovereign whom they loved and revered, the royal boſom was doomed to experience thoſe cares which invade with impartial miſery the peace of the peaſant and the prince. The queen, cold and reſerved in her temper and manner, received with indifference, or repreſſed with diſguſt, the amorous aſſiduities of Henry. Her imprudent partiality to her Italian attendants was regarded with indignation by that monarch; and his own licentious amours, his open connection with the marchioneſs of Verneuil, too frequently furniſhed juſt cauſe for reproach. The inmoſt receſſes of the palace were diſturbed by their mutual and inceſſant complaints. The happineſs which Henry found not in the company and converſation of his queen, he ſought in the familiar ſociety of others; the arrogance of the marchioneſs of Verneuil had for ſome time paſt been inſufferable; and the lively wit, the amiable manners of Charlotte de Montmorency, the daughter of the conſtable, had inſenſibly ſtolen into his heart; yet he ſuffered not this paſſion, ardent as it was, and fatal as it probably afterwards proved, wholly to engroſs his mind. He renewed his ancient alliance with the United States of Holland; he aſſiduouſly cultivated the friendſhip of England; he ſucceſsfully inter-

interpoſed his mediation between the court of Rome and the Venetians; but he declined the importunate ſolicitations of the Mooriſh inhabitants of Spain, who oppreſſed, and at length driven into exile by the miſtaken policy of Philip the Third, in vain implored an aſylum in the boſom of France.

The wiſdom of Henry has been ſeverely impeached in refuſing the proffered acceſſion of near half a million of induſtrious people, whoſe ſilent labours might have fertiliſed the barren and deſerted plains of France, and repaired the fatal ravages which had been inflicted by religious commotion. The inclinations of this unhappy race to prefer the reformed to the catholic church, the perſecuting ſpirit of which they had already experienced, might perhaps in ſome meaſure influence the mind of Henry, long ſince grown diſtruſtful of the intrigues of the hugonots; perhaps he was determined by the dread of precipitating thoſe hoſtile deſigns which he ſecretly meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and which were yet ſcarcely ripe for execution. A conjecture which is rather ſtrengthened by the caution with which he continued to ſooth the jealouſy of the court of Spain, and the zeal which he diſplayed in negociating a truce with the United States and the archduke Albert. The tranquillity of his king-

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dom was reſtored; the ambition of his nobles had been ſeverely humbled; his magazines were filled; his coffers repleniſhed; order was introduced into his finances; diſcipline among his troops; and he beheld the moment rapidly approaching in which he might unfold the vaſt object of thoſe immenſe preparations which alarmed or aſtoniſhed all Europe.

But while the power, the experience, and the reputation of the monarch filled his enemies with terror, the paſſions of the man too often expoſed him to the cenſure and pity of his friends. Nor time, nor ambition could extinguiſh his fatal affection for Charlotte de Montmorency; ſecretly nouriſhing the deſtructive flame, he determined to beſtow the hand of that lady on the prince of Condè, and by introducing her into his own family, at leaſt to enjoy the ſatisfaction of her converſation. The marriage was celebrated without pomp at Chantilli, and it was the expreſſion of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, "that the king had made this match "to ſink the heart, and to raiſe the head of the "prince of Condé." The paſſion of Henry ſoon burſt the bounds that his prudence had preſcribed. His looks, his words, his actions, inceſſantly betrayed the ardent emotions of his ſoul; the fire that conſtantly conſumed him could A. D. 1609.

not

not be concealed from the prince, jealous of his own honour, and the fidelity of his wife. He defired leave to retire from court, and the peremptory refuſal of the king ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions already entertained. His reſpect for his ſovereign was overwhelmed by a lively ſenſe of the injury intended; and after giving way to his indignation by the moſt pointed reproaches, he ſecretly prepared to eſcape with the princeſs beyond the limits of the kingdom, before the ungovernable paſſion of Henry had ſealed his diſhonour.

This deſign he executed with ſucceſs; reluctantly accompanied by his wife, and attended by a few domeſtics, he eluded the vigilance of thoſe who had been directed to obſerve him, and reached in ſafety Landrecy. The king received the intelligence of his flight with a tranſport of rage and grief that he was at no pains to conceal. He inſtantly diſpatched Praſlin, the captain of his guard, to demand the fugitives from the archduke; but Albert replied with becoming dignity, "that he had never violated the laws of nations "on any occaſion whatever; and that he would "not begin with a prince of the blood-royal of "France." He immediately ſupplied the neceſſities of the prince of Condè with liberality, appointed

pointed an eſcort to conduct him to Bruſſels, and aſſured him of his conſtant protection.

The perſonal ſecurity of the prince did not entirely ſhield him from the effects of Henry's reſentment. After an ineffectual attempt to carry off the princeſs by force, at the command of the king the parliament paſſed an arret againſt the firſt prince of the blood, and condemned him to undergo whatever puniſhment the ſovereign ſhould pleaſe to inflict; with this judicial proceſs the martial preparations of Henry kept pace; and the armaments which had been ſuggeſted by ambition were probably quickened by love. England, the independent princes of Germany, and the United Province of the Netherlands, all readily aſſociated in the deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria; the duke of Savoy conſented to relinquiſh that country to France, on condition of receiving the duchy of Milan; while the majority of the Italian ſtates profeſſed their deſire to accede to a confederacy, on which they flattered themſelves with the hope of founding a permanent tranquillity. When to allies ſo powerful, and ſo firmly engaged by intereſt in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, are added the reſources of France in a diſciplined and veteran army of forty thouſand men, a treaſure of forty millions of livres, and the high reputation and diſtin-

guiſhed abilities of her king, it cannot be wondered that the aſtoniſhment of viſionary ſtateſmen have conſidered the force ſo far exceeding the object as even to have attributed to Henry the immenſe but chimerical project of forming Europe into one great republic.

At length the death of the duke of Cleves gave the ſignal for action; his dominions, which had been formed of four or five great fiefs, were claimed by the emperor Rodolph as ſupreme ſovereign, and he inſtantly beſtowed the inveſtiture of them on the archduke Leopold of Auſtria. But this arbitrary uſurpation was diſputed by the ſiſters of the late duke and their repreſentatives; the duke of Brandenburg and Pruſſia, the count palatine of Newburg, the count palatine of Deux Ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw, were arouſed by the ſecret and friendly aſſurances of France, to aſſert their right by arms, and to implore the protection of Henry.

A. D. 1610. The king readily liſtened to ſolicitations which he himſelf had ſuggeſted. The conteſted territories ſtretched along the frontiers of his kingdom, and he was not inſenſible to the dangerous vicinity of the houſe of Auſtria; intereſt combined with honour in prompting him to a ſpeedy reſolution; and both perhaps were ſtimulated by the ſecret but ardent motives

motives of affection; the prince of Condè ſtill boaſted the protection of the court of Spain, and the abſence of the princeſs had not allayed the flame that her charms had kindled in the boſom of Henry. That monarch declared his determination to lead an army to the ſupport of his German allies, and to vindicate with his forces and treaſures their pretenſions to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His road lay through the provinces of Flanders, and the archduke Albert, through whoſe country he demanded permiſſion to march, unprepared for reſiſtance, diſguiſed his hereditary enmity, and anſwered in terms of reſpectful acquieſcence.

The ſupine indifference with which the houſe of Auſtria affected to regard the combination of its moſt powerful and inveterate enemies, has given riſe to a ſuſpicion probably as deſtitute of foundation, as it is injurious to the honour of that family; and the ſubſequent fate of Henry has by more than one contemporary hiſtorian been aſcribed to the perfidious and ſanguinary principles which have diſgraced the councils of Spain, and which but a few years ſince involved the deſtruction of the prince of Orange. With more reaſon the deadly ſtroke may be imputed to that fanatical fury kindled by a long ſeries of religious commotion, and not extinguiſhed by the fleeting

years of tranquillity which had ſucceeded the peace of Vervins. Whatever might be the ſource of an event, which has been ſo variouſly related by the immediate ſpectators, and which ſeems at the moment it happened to have eluded the reſearches of the moſt curious and intereſted, it is our duty from the maſs to ſelect thoſe circumſtances only which can inform the mind and guide the judgment of the reader.

Amidſt all his preparations, amidſt the moſt flattering proſpects of acquiring that glory which he had ſo long and ſo ardently panted after, the diſpoſition of Henry was viſibly impreſſed with a deep and ſettled melancholy. The blameable indulgence of the queen to her Italian attendants, had been often the ſubject of his open diſcontent, and he had more than once meditated the deſign of compelling the moſt obnoxious to repaſs the Alps. From this intention he was diverted by his confidential miniſter the duke of Sully; and in conformity to the advice of that ſtateſman, he endeavoured to gain on the cold and reſerved temper of the queen by acts of kindneſs and attention. That princeſs had expreſſed her deſire to be crowned before the king took the field; and Henry, though he regarded with diſguſt all pageantry and oſtentation, had conſented to gratify her wiſhes. The ceremony was performed

formed on Thurſday the thirteenth of May with the utmoſt magnificence; the next Sunday was fixed for the public entry of the queen, and on the Wedneſday following Henry had determined to quit Paris, and to put himſelf at the head of his army.

But the final period of his life and greatneſs now rapidly approached; and while he meditated enterpriſes the moſt ſplendid and important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravaillac, a native of Angouleme. From that province the unhappy wretch had directed his footſteps to the capital; and after endeavouring to obtain a miſerable ſubſiſtence as an obſcure retainer to the law, he had attempted to procure admiſſion among the order of Feuillants; but theſe rejected him as a wild and frantic viſionary; and his diſtreſs had already reduced him to ſeek ſupport by imploring alms, when he conceived the dark and deſperate deſign of mingling the miſeries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand againſt the ſovereign of France.

Though the king had acquieſced in a ceremony which he conſtantly diſapproved, and though he had endeavoured by the appearance of ſatisfaction to diffuſe through the court that joy which he felt not, his expreſſions but too clearly announced his gloomy preſages of his im-

impending deſtiny. From his confidential miniſters and domeſtics he concealed not the load that preſſed upon his heart; and "you will ſoon "know how kind a maſter you have loſt," was the inceſſant and mournful exclamation. The morning that ſucceeded the coronation of the queen had been deſtined for a viſit to the arſenal; but the indiſpoſition of the duke of Sully induced the king to poſtpone his intention; he had already paſſed a ſleepleſs night, and with the return of light his apprehenſions and inquietude ſeemed every moment to increaſe. He attended maſs, and prayed with unuſual fervour; the pleaſures of the table diſſipated not his chagrin; and after a vain effort to compoſe himſelf to reſt, he ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the dukes of Epernon and Montbazon, the mareſchals Lavardin and Roquelaure, the marquiſſes de la Force and Mirabeau, and du Pleſſis Liancourt, his maſter of horſe, determined to proceed to the arſenal; Vitry, the captain of his guards, was by his order diſpatched to the palace to haſten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the carriage was only attended by a ſmall number of gentlemen on horſeback, and a few of the royal footmen. The curtains on every ſide were drawn up that the king might witneſs the zeal of his ſubjects in the various ornaments they had pre-

pared. In a narrow ſtreet the coach was ſtopped by the accidental meeting of two carts; the majority of the attendants inſtantly took a nearer way, and two footmen only were left; one went before to clear the paſſage, the other ſtaid behind to tie up his garter. At this inſtant, as the king turned to read a letter to the duke of Epernon, he received a ſtroke from a knife; he had ſcarce time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a ſecond more violent and more fatally directed pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep ſigh, he ſunk back in the coach a lifeleſs corpſe.

Thus periſhed, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-firſt of his reign, Henry the Fourth, whoſe virtues and talents have juſtly entitled him to the honourable diſtinction of *Great*. His acceſſion preſented to our view a kingdom diſunited, a nobility haughty and diſcontented, a commonalty clamorous and oppreſſed. The broken provinces of the ſtate were cemented by his policy, the nobles were humbled by his valour, the commons were conciliated by his addreſs and relieved by his humanity. He firſt introduced order into the finances, and diſcipline into the armies of France; new manufactories were eſtabliſhed at his command, and new colonies planted; and while he reſtored peace and plenty at home, he rendered his kingdom great

and formidable abroad. The power of Spain was checked by his courage and conduct; and at the moment of his death he meditated deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which had they been ſucceſsfully executed, would have finally precluded her from ever diſturbing again the tranquillity of Europe. In private life he was a kind and generous maſter; a warm and tender lover, a polite and obliging huſband; but the ſincerity of the hiſtorian will not allow him to conceal thoſe faults which he cannot but regret; the paſſion of Henry for the fair, too often induced him to forget the prudence and dignity of the monarch. His ardent and guilty affection for the princeſs of Condè in the decline of life, caſt a cloud over his meridian glory; and the warmth with which he purſued, and the indiſcretion with which he countenanced the fatal rage of gaming, has been the ſubject of ſevere and general cenſure.

Though the confuſion of the nobles who accompanied Henry allowed them not to ward the fatal blow, yet the moment their preſence of mind was returned, it was diſplayed in ſeizing the aſſaſſin, who ſtill ſupported himſelf on the wheel of the coach, with the bloody inſtrument yet reeking in his hand, as if glorying in the atrocious deed. The prudence of the duke of Epernon preſerved him from the immediate fury of

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the royal attendants, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments; while the ſame caution enabled him to quiet the tumultuous apprehenſions of the populace, by declaring that the king yet lived, and that they were carrying him to the Louvre to have his wounds dreſſed. The crowd inſtantly gave way, the body conveyed to the palace, was laid upon a bed, and was ſoon deſerted by the ungrateful many who had baſked in his favour, but who haſtened to proſtrate themſelves before the riſing ſun, and loſt the recollection of former benefits in their eagerneſs to ſolicit new.

Chapter the Thirty-ſecond.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH—REGENCY OF MARY OF MEDICIS—PRETENSIONS OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE—FAVOUR OF CONCHINI, WHO ASSUMES THE NAME OF ANCRE—REVOLT AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE—ASSASSINATION OF THE MARESCHAL D'ANCRE—RISE OF THE DUKE OF LUINES—STATE OF GERMANY—WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS MOTHER—BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PROTESTANTS—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LUINES—PEACE WITH THE PROTESTANTS—COMPROMISE OF THE VALTALINE—INTRODUCTION OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU TO THE CABINET.

WITH the life of Henry the Fourth were extinguiſhed the great deſigns that he had meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and France beheld, with

with grief and terror, the ſceptre paſs from his vigorous graſp to the feeble hand of an infant. Of his three ſons by Mary of Medicis, the eldeſt, who now ſucceeded to the throne as Lewis the Thirteenth, was only in the ninth year of his age; and the two younger, though their birth might ſerve to ſtrengthen the ſucceſſion, could only be known by their different titles of dukes of Orleans and Anjou; but the queen, amidſt the diſmay of the court, waſted not the important moments in unavailing ſorrow; and the affliction, if any, that ſhe felt on the loſs of Henry, was ſwallowed up by the more intereſting care of obtaining the regency. Her ambition was gratified by the ready acquieſcence of the parliament, and in her perſon were united the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the guardianſhip of her ſon.

The firſt moments had been employed in the acquiſition of power, the next were devoted to revenge. The wretched Ravaillac, whoſe guilty hand had precipitated the unfortunate fate of Henry, was drawn from his cell, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments. His bones were broken by the arm of the executioner; his fleſh was torn by hot pincers; ſcalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, ſtill ſenſible, was delivered to be diſmembered by four horſes; the ſtubborn frame reſiſted their utmoſt efforts;

efforts; the indignant multitude, whoſe thirſt of vengeance could no longer be reſtrained, ruſhed through the guards; in an inſtant they put an end to his miſery, by tearing him in pieces; and with barbarous joy they dragged his limbs in frantic triumph through the ſtreets. Amidſt every mark of ingenious cruelty inflicted by public juſtice, or private hatred, he ſtill maintained, with conſtancy, the declaration, "that impreſſed with the "idea that the armaments of Henry were deſ-"tined againſt the catholic church, and the ſuc-"ceſſor of St. Peter, he alone had planned, he "alone was privy to the deed, to the juſt horror "of which he was now awakened; and which he "hoped in a future world, the torments he had "ſuffered here, would in ſome meaſure expiate."

On the firſt intelligence of the death of Henry, the prince of Condè quitted his retreat in the territories of Spain, and haſtened to urge his pretenſions as firſt prince of the blood. A ſplendid palace, a conſiderable ſum of money, and a penſion adequate to his dignity, were temptations that his neceſſities allowed him not to reſiſt; while the diſcontent of the count of Soiſſons was appeaſed by the important government of Normandy. The former miniſters of the crown, who had ſerved with fidelity, and who were recommended by their experience, were received with coldneſs, and liſten-

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ed to with evident diſapprobation; the queen abandoned herſelf, without reſerve, to her fond partiality for her Italian adherents; Conchini, a native of that country, and of obſcure extraction, had increaſed his influence by a marriage with Leonora Galigai, the favourite of the regent, and their united counſels ruled France and their miſtreſs with abſolute ſway. The mareſchal de la Chartre, with a detachment of twelve thouſand men, had effected a junction with prince Maurice of Naſſau, penetrated into Germany, and reſtored the duchy of Juliers to the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the count Palatine of Newburgh; but the court, as if fatigued with this inſtance of vigour, againk ſunk into ſupineneſs; and the duke of Savoy, betrayed and deſerted, was happy to eſcape the chaſtiſement of Spain, by the moſt degrading and humiliating conceſſions.

The duke of Sully, auſtere and inflexible, and who confiding in his integrity, diſdained the arts of courts, found that ſincerity, which had been eſteemed by Henry, no longer acceptable; he indignantly retired to the eſtates which he had purchaſed through the bounty of the late king, and reſigned his offices of governor of the Baſtile, and ſuperintendant of the finances; but the reformed, who ſtill confided in him, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the duke A. D. 1611.

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of Bouillon, exhorted him to retain his government of Poitou, and poſt of maſter of the ordnance. Each day revealed the aſcendancy of Conchini, who endeavoured to remove from the eyes of the people the unpopular circumſtance of foreign birth, by aſſuming the title of marquis of Ancre. The death of the duke of Orleans, whoſe title devolved on his younger brother the duke of Anjou, did not interrupt the negociations which the queen and her miniſters eagerly purſued with the court of Spain. Inſtead of attempting to repreſs the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, the regent, to eſtabliſh her authority, determined cloſely to connect herſelf with that family; and while the young king was contracted to the Infanta, the hand of his ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Aſturias.

A. D. 1612. While the princes of the blood concealed not their diſguſt at the influence of the marquis of Ancre, the reformed, in the union with the court of Spain, dreaded the revival of former perſecutions. The duke of Rohan, ſon-in-law to the duke of Sully, ſeized the ſtrong town of St. Jean d'Angeli, the government of which had been promiſed to him by the deceaſed king; in excuſe for the enterpriſe he alleged, that the court, at the repreſentations

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of the duke of Bouillon, had removed the mayor, who was attached to his intereſt, and appointed another, wholly at their own devotion; the queen, to quench the embers of revolt, conſented to reſtore the former officer; and the death of the count of Soiſſons, which happened ſoon after, left the prince of Condè without a guide, who again reconciled himſelf to the marquis of Ancre.

The duke of Bouillon had been diſpatched to England to remove the jealouſies which James might entertain at the late union between France and Spain, and to propoſe a marriage with the princeſs Chriſtina, the ſecond daughter of Henry, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of England; but the prince of Wales unfortunately expired in the dawn of manhood, when his talents and virtues had awakened the expectations of his country; and the duke of Bouillon availed himſelf of the opportunity to negociate the nuptials of his own nephew, the elector Palatine, with the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to James. A marriage, which probably prompted the elector to his enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of Bohemia, and which after plunging his poſterity in a long ſeries of abject diſtreſs, by the union of the princeſs Sophia with the houſe of Hanover, finally tranſferred the ſceptre of England to that family.

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A. D. 1613. The death of Francis, duke of Mantua and marquis of Montferrat, without male offspring, rekindled the ambition of the duke of Savoy. He diſputed, in arms, the ſucceſſion of the cardinal of Mantua, the brother of the deceaſed prince, to the Marquiſate. His liberality attached to his cauſe a conſiderable number of the nobility, and his forces, like a torrent, deluged the conteſted country, and ſwept before him all oppoſition to the very gates of Montferrat. That city conſented to receive the victor; and Caſal alone, encouraged by the preſence of the duke of Nevers, held out for the cardinal. At the ſupplicating voice of her kinſman and ally, the queen of France prepared to chaſtiſe the temerity of the invader. Spain, and the Venetians, embraced, with rival ardour, the ſupport of the cardinal; the duke of Savoy, in his turn, was overwhelmed by the numbers and reſources of ſo formidable a confederacy; he was reduced to abandon his conqueſts with the ſame rapidity as he had acquired them; and eſteemed himſelf happy in obtaining a peace, by acknowledging the pretenſions of the cardinal to the territories of his deceaſed brother.

A. D. 1614. 1615. Whatever might be the ſucceſs of France abroad, at home, her annals for four ſucceſſive years, preſent a dreary proſpect of unintereſting

unintereſting anarchy and barren diſcord. The princes of the blood, inſatiate of power, and the nobles turbulent and diſcontented, repeatedly erected the ſtandard of revolt againſt the regal authority; as frequently, with contemptible levity, they courted the returning friendſhip of a court, whoſe timid counſels were content to ſooth without preſuming to repreſs their capricious arrogance. It was amidſt theſe inceſſant alarms and deſultory hoſtilities, that the king, who had been declared of age, concluded the double marriage with Spain, and received at Bourdeaux the hand of Anne the Infanta.

From the celebration of that ceremony, Lewis purſued his march, at the head of a ſmall, but well diſciplined army, to reduce the prince of Condé, and to impreſs his ſubjects with favourable ſentiments of his courage and activity. The approach of the winter ſuſpended the operations of the contending parties, who, while they rejected all terms of accommodation, ſeemed ſtudious, in every enterpriſe, to avoid the effuſion of blood; with the return of ſpring the royal forces again aſſembled, and were again animated by the preſence of their ſovereign; but when his ſubjects daily expected the effects of that military ardour which had thus early tranſported him to a camp, they were ſurpriſed by the intel-

A. D. 1615. 1616.

intelligence that he had ſubſcribed a peace, and ſubmitted to the demands of thoſe princes, whom he had ſo lately declared traitors to his throne.

The fatal counſels of the marquis of Ancre had influenced a meaſure ſo degrading to the royal authority; the alternate perſecutor and protector of the princes of the blood, he dreaded a war, which, if ſucceſsful, could add but little to his power, and if unſucceſsful, muſt be attended with his ruin. In the field, he well knew the king would be expoſed to the ready acceſs and ſuggeſtions of the nobility, jealous of the ſuperior fortunes of a favourite, whom they hated and deſpiſed; the partiality of the queen had inveſted him with the dignity of mareſchal; but this new rank had only increaſed the envy of his competitors, and the deteſtation of the public. He languiſhed to return to Paris, that by the aſcendancy of his wife, over the mind of Mary, he might ſecure himſelf from the hoſtile practices of his enemies.

His return to court exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. The queen, though no longer legally inveſted with the authority of regent, ſtill appeared to maintain her influence over her feeble ſon, and was herſelf devoted to the will of the mareſchal and his conſort. With laviſh hand he diſſipated thoſe treaſures which had been amaſſed by

by the ambition of Henry, and the unwearied frugality of Sully; new titles were invented, and new poſts were created to gratify the pride, or avarice of his dependants; the ancient ſervants of the crown were diſmiſſed, and their places ſupplied by the creatures of his pleaſure. At length, inflated with proſperity, and no longer able to endure a rival, even in the firſt prince of the blood, he prevailed on the queen to arreſt the prince of Condè, who had preſumed to menace him with his indignation.

The impriſonment of that prince in the Baſtile, awakened from their dream of ſecurity the dukes of Vendoſme, Mayenne, Nevers, and Rohan, with a ſplendid train of nobility, who haſtily retired from court, and prepared by arms to vindicate themſelves from the oppreſſion of the favourite; the public diſcontent was increaſed by the diſmiſſal of Villeroy, grown grey in the ſervice of Henry the Fourth, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and the promotion of the biſhop of Lucon, ſince known as the celebrated cardinal Richlieu. The vigour that the court diſplayed, was moſt probably the effect of the new miniſter's counſels; three armies, levied with diligence, immediately appeared in the field to ſupport the royal authority; the firſt in Champagne, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, reduced Chateau,

Porcien, and Rethel; the ſecond, which acted in the Nivernois, and was conducted by the mareſchal Montigny, defeated and took priſoner the ſecond ſon of the duke of Nevers; the third was entruſted to the count d'Auvergne, whom the queen had drawn from the long confinement, to which he had been ſentenced by Henry, and now placed at the head of the royal forces in the iſle of France. Age and misfortune had not extinguiſhed the youthful vigour of that reſtleſs noble. He ſurpriſed and diſperſed the ſcattered bodies of the confederates, and inveſted in Soiſſons the duke of Mayenne, ſon to the renowned chief of the league. The walls of that place could not long have reſiſted his ardour; and he had already prepared to give the ſignal for a general aſſault, when the duke of Mayenne was preſerved from the deſtruction that impended over him, by an event as unexpected as it was deciſive.

While the mareſchal of Ancre, elated at the proſpect before him, gave looſe to a temper naturally raſh and vindictive, his capricious jealouſies and unbridled arrogance precipitated on his own head the ruin that he meditated againſt his enemies. He had placed about the perſon of the young king a gentleman of the name of Luines, who inſinuated himſelf into the favour and confidence of Lewis, by his unwearied aſſiduities, and

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the ardour with which he planned and partook of his childiſh amuſements; but while the thoughts and hours of this new favourite ſeemed occupied by ſports and pleaſures the moſt frivolous, he in private nouriſhed an ambition above his rank and ſtation. The mareſchal had repulſed, with contempt, his offer of alliance by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not inſenſible of the ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the Florentine, determined to provide for his own ſafety, by the deſtruction of a man whom from that moment he ſecretly conſidered as his implacable enemy.

In the unguarded hours of familiarity, he impreſſed Lewis with a lively dread of the dangerous deſigns of the aſpiring Italian; he repreſented to him that his father, Henry the Fourth, had ever regarded, with peculiar averſion, the influence of the mareſchal, and Leonora, over the mind of the queen. That he had only been prevented by the tears of his conſort, from compelling them to repaſs the Alps; that the evils which he had foreſeen from their aſcendancy over that princeſs, were now realiſed; the firſt prince of the blood was impriſoned; the principal nobility were baniſhed from court; and the kingdom was plunged into the calamities of civil war, to ſatiate the revenge, or ſooth the arrogance of a ſupercilious foreigner. That while this inſolent minion diſ-

poſed at pleaſure of every employment of truſt and importance, the ſovereign himſelf was little better than a captive to the queen and the mareſchal; and the avowed preference and attachment of the former, to his younger brother the duke of Orleans, ought to inſpire him with ſentiments of prudent diſtruſt.

A. D. 1617. The tender years of Lewis were already diſtinguiſhed by that jealouſy of the royal authority which afterwards became the prominent feature of his character. He liſtened attentively to the repeated ſuggeſtions of Luines, and at length imparted his reſolution to atchieve his own deliverance, and to extinguiſh the torch of civil commotion by the death of the mareſchal. With the concurrence of Lewis, Luines exacted an oath from Vitri, the captain of the guard, to execute whatever the king ſhould command. He then diſcloſed to him the royal orders to arreſt the mareſchal d'Ancre; and Vitri having aſſociated in the enterpriſe his brother Hillier, his brother-in-law Perſan, and a few more friends, on whoſe courage and fidelity he could rely, prepared to execute the will of his ſovereign.

While the conſpirators were engaged in concerting their meaſures, the queen was confidentially admoniſhed to diſmiſs her Italian favourites, whoſe inſolence muſt involve in their ruin her own

own influence; and Leonora was exhorted to conſult her ſafety by a prudent and timely retreat; the natural timidity of her ſex inclined her to embrace the counſel that was offered; but the mareſchal indignantly rejected the alternative, and declared that he would never deſert that fortune which hitherto had conſtantly accompanied him. On the morning fixed for his deſtruction, he had entered the Louvre, ſurrounded by forty gentlemen who derived their ſupport from his liberality; he was earneſtly engaged in reading a letter, when the captain of the guard and his friends appeared; the retinue of Ancre, imagining they preceded their royal maſter, gave way; and Vitri, advancing to the mareſchal, arreſted him in the name of the king. In a moment of aſtoniſhment and indignation he laid his hand on his ſword; this mark of reſiſtance was the ſignal of his deſtruction. The command of Vitri to kill him was inſtantly obeyed; and three piſtols, diſcharged with unerring ſkill, extended the mareſchal lifeleſs on the ground.

The preſence of the king at a window which overlooked the bloody ſcene, repreſſed the ineffectual zeal of Ancre's adherents; his ſon, the marquis de Pene, and his wife, the unfortunate Leonora, were immediately ſecured. A judicial proceſs was commenced againſt the latter; her

eſtates were confiſcated, and ſhe was condemned to expiate with her life, a crime that exiſted only in the malice, or ignorance, of her proſecutors. She was charged, and pronounced guilty of having faſcinated the affection of the queen by magical arts; but the conſtancy with which in her laſt moments ſhe endured the ſevereſt tortures, commanded the admiration, though it diſarmed not the rage of her relentleſs enemies.

The deſtruction of her favourites was attended by the diſgrace of the queen-mother herſelf; that princeſs, diveſted of her guards, and the enſigns of royalty, was permitted to retire to Blois. The power which had been occupied by Ancre was transferred to Luines; the dignity of mareſchal was conferred on Vitri; his brother Hillier was raiſed to the vacant poſt of captain of the guards; and the biſhop of Lucon was compelled to reſign the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, which he had ſo lately received.

While the duke of Mayenne, hopeleſs and deſerted, anticipated in his terrors the puniſhment of unſucceſsful rebellion, he was agreeably ſurpriſed by the intelligence that the mareſchal d'Ancre was no more, and that the king had been pleaſed to approve his conduct, as originating in zeal for the public welfare. The gates of Soiſſons were thrown open to the royal forces, and the

count

count d'Auvergne entered as a friend, that city which he had ſo lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. The dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, and Rohan, alſo haſtened to court to throw themſelves at the feet of a ſovereign whoſe juſtice had extinguiſhed the object of their enmity; and while they loaded with reproaches the memory of the former, they laboured to acquire, by their aſſiduities, the friendſhip of the preſent favourite; the birth of Luines rendered him deſirous of ennobling his obſcure extraction by an illuſtrious alliance; the ſiſter of the duke of Vendoſme, and the natural daughter of Henry the Fourth, firſt preſented herſelf to his aſpiring hopes; but he dreaded the revival of that envy, which had proved ſo fatal to the mareſchal d'Ancre; and contented himſelf with ſoliciting the hand of the daughter of the duke of Montbazon; who with pleaſure conſented to receive as his ſon-in-law the favourite of the king.

While the deſtructive flame of civil commotion preyed upon the vitals of France, the duke of Savoy was expoſed to the formidable arms and reſtleſs ambition of Spain. The mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres flew to the ſuccour of that prince, whom formerly he had encountered with equal ardour. The commands of the queen-mother could not reſtrain him from an enterpriſe in which the

the glory and intereſt of his country were deeply concerned. The late revolution ſuſpended his operations for a moment, but on the deſtruction of the mareſchal d'Ancre he reſumed them with the ſanction of the royal authority. In ſucceſſive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined the fire of youth to the experience of age; and at the inſtant that he prepared to carry his victorious arms into Milan, and render Italy once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was ſtopped by the intelligence of a peace, which Spain, baffled and humbled, had condeſcended to propoſe, and which the exhauſted coffers of the duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

A. D. 1618. The favourite who had obtained from the partiality of his ſovereign the title of duke of Luines, endeavoured by every method that policy could ſuggeſt firmly to eſtabliſh his dominion over the mind of his royal patron; at the ſame time he aſſiduouſly courted the general opinion; to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he aſſembled the ſtates of Rouen, and aboliſhed the moſt burthenſome impoſts; to conciliate the princes of the blood, he appeared zealous in his ſolicitations to procure the freedom of the prince of Condè; and by a dexterous application to the intereſts of individuals, he converted the

the reproachful clamours of his moſt formidable opponents into profeſſions of eſteem. The duke of Mayenne was gratified with the government of Guienne, wreſted from the prince of Condè; the mareſchal Ornano was appointed to that of Normandy; and the duke of Luines reſerved to himſelf the Iſle of France, the ſituation of which allowed him to exerciſe the duties of a governor, without neglecting the arts of a courtier.

Yet amidſt every precaution that prudence could dictate, amidſt the ſplendour of a fortune that was envied by millions, the reſtleſs hours of the favourite were conſtantly haunted by the dread of the returning influence of the queen-mother. Exiled and encompaſſed at Blois by hollow friends and open enemies, that princeſs was ſtill formidable. She entered into a correſpondence with the duke d'Epernon, who had quitted the court in diſguſt, and maintained in the city of Metz a ſullen independence. He readily liſtened to the advances of the queen-mother, whoſe partiality he had formerly experienced, and whoſe deliverance he engaged to atchieve. At the head of an hundred horſe, whoſe fidelity he could depend on, he ſuddenly quitted Metz, and rapidly advanced to Blois; Mary, informed of his approach, eluded by a ladder of ropes the vigilance of her guards; and deſcending

deſcending from a window, eſcaped to the protection of Epernon, who conveyed her ſafely into Angouleſme, at the critical moment that the court had determined to commit her a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Amboiſe.

A. D. 1619. On the firſt intelligence of the flight of the queen, the king and his favourite abandoned themſelves to menaces the moſt harſh and violent. An hundred thouſand men were deſtined to chaſtiſe the temerity of the duke d'Epernon, and the royal forces were commanded to aſſemble on every ſide to recover the fugitive princeſs, and to overwhelm her preſumptuous protector; but with the return of reaſon Lewis was awakened to the infamy of arming againſt his mother; and the duke of Luines was ſenſible that the public voice would attribute to his counſels a war unnatural and odious. On the other hand, the duke d'Epernon beheld himſelf diſappointed in the ſupine indifference of the nobles, from which no exhortations either of his own or his royal ally could arouſe them; he was ſenſible that alone and unſupported, he muſt ſoon ſink in the unequal conflict; yet though both parties ſincerely wiſhed for peace, the negociations were ſlow and indeciſive. To quicken theſe, the duke of Luines recalled the biſhop of Lucon, whom he had baniſhed from the ſide of the queen-

queen-mother, to Avignon. That prelate, whoſe commanding genius was already diſcerned amidſt the clouds of faction, was peculiarly acceptable to Mary; though the duke d'Epernon at firſt regarded him with jealouſy, the addreſs and inſinuating manners of Richelieu, ſoon diſſipated his ſuſpicions, and enſured his confidence. His influence again eſtabliſhed that tranquillity which was ſo earneſtly deſired. The queen-mother by the treaty of Angouleſme was reſtored to liberty, and indulged in the privilege of changing the ſeat of her reſidence at pleaſure; in lieu of the government of Normandy, ſhe received that of Anjou, with the caſtles of Angers, Pont de Ce, and Chinon. Her adherents were reinſtated in their poſts and appointments; but on this occaſion Richelieu himſelf diſplayed the features of honourable diſintereſtedneſs, and amidſt the various articles that he ſtipulated, ſeems alone to have neglected his private advantage.

That diſcord which interrupted the repoſe of France, was diffuſed more widely, and with more bloody rage through the ſeveral principalities of Germany. The oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria was inflamed by religious enthuſiaſm; the ſtates of Bohemia having taken arms againſt the emperor Mathias, continued their revolt againſt his ſucceſſor Ferdinand A. D. 1619. 1620.

the Second, and claimed the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, along with the reſtoration of their ancient laws and conſtitution. The ſurrounding principalities Sileſia, Moravia, Luſatia, Auſtria, and the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and each in their turn experienced the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

Ferdinand, bold and haughty, diſdained to conciliate by lenient meaſures thoſe diſaffected ſpirits he aſpired to chaſtiſe by arms. With the aſſiſtance of his own ſubjects, who profeſſed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring catholic princes, he beheld his armies ſwelled by the acceſſion of the proteſtant elector of Saxony, by the rapid cavalry of Poland, and the firm and veteran infantry of Spain. To reſiſt ſo formidable a confederacy, the ſtates of Bohemia determined alſo to implore the protection of foreign powers, and they caſt their eyes on Frederic elector palatine, who as ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Mautice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces, might from his own ample dominions, and the greatneſs of his connections, be able to defend the proteſtant cauſe and the liberties of Bohemia from the hoſtile enterpriſes of the houſe of Auſtria.

The

The elector palatine, ſtimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the diſtreſs of the ſtates had proffered, and marched into Bohemia to the ſupport of his new ſubjects. But his raſh reſolution was diſapproved by James and Maurice; and the former reſtraining the ardour of his people in the cauſe of Frederic, and impreſſed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, refuſed to countenance the revolted ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria. The elector, defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola entering the palatinate, notwithſtanding the efforts of ſome proteſtant princes of Germany, and a gallant band of Engliſh volunteers, commanded by the brave ſir Horace Vere, in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that principality.

In France the power and favour of the duke of Luines ſeemed daily to increaſe; yet the queen-mother, though all her demands had been gratified by the late treaty, ſtill refuſed to appear at court, and nouriſhed in diſcontented ſecurity, at the caſtle of Angers, the ſeeds of revolt. To fortify himſelf againſt her influence, Luines had reſtored the liberty, and laboured to engage the gratitude of the prince of Condè. But the dread that union might have inſpired was balanced

lanced by the jealouſes of the reformed, by the murmurs of the people at new impoſts, and by the envy of the nobility, who could ill brook the fond partiality of the king, and the inſulting grandeur of his favourite. The duke of Mayenne retired to his government of Guienne; the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, Rohan, and Retz, haſtened to Angers, and offered their ſervices to the queen-mother; the duke d'Epernon once more declared in her favour; and Mary of Medicis aſſuming the tone of independence, proclaimed her reſolution never to conſent to any future treaty, unleſs guarantied by the parliament of France, or ſome foreign power.

But on this occaſion the king, tenacious of his dignity, acted with vigour and firmneſs. While his diſcontented ſubjects gave vent to their indignation in ineffectual invectives, with what forces he could haſtily aſſemble he entered the province of Normandy, confirmed by his preſence the doubtful allegiance of Rouen, reduced Caen, and compelled the duke of Longueville, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the queen, to ſeek ſhelter in Dieppe. While his ſucceſs inſpired with hope and confidence his own adherents, Mary, aſtoniſhed at an alacrity ſo little expected, felt, with the approach of danger, the natural timidity

midity of her ſex return; rejecting the bold and deciſive counſels of the duke of Rohan, to retire to Bourdeaux, and rely on the affection of that parliament, zealouſly attached to her intereſt, ſhe was perſuaded by the biſhop of Lucon to depend on the effects of negociation; a new treaty was ſubſcribed which confirmed the former; and a general pardon was granted to thoſe who ſhould deſerve the clemency of their ſovereign by immediate ſubmiſſion. On the day after the conditions were ſigned, the king, diſſembling his knowledge of the event, attacked and carried Pont dè Ce, a fortreſs which he had formerly yielded to the demands of the queen, and which was now betrayed by the artifices of the biſhop of Lucon, and the cowardice of the duke of Retz.

If in the treaty of Angouleſme, the diſintereſtedneſs of Richelieu commanded the admiration of his enemies; in the preſent, the ſincerity of his counſels and the integrity of his conduct were univerſally ſuſpected and loudly impeached. A ſecret article of the treaty too clearly revealed his ambitious motives. While the duke of Luines ſtipulated to obtain the dignity of cardinal for the aſpiring prelate, the biſhop of Lucon conſented to beſtow the hand of his niece, with an immenſe portion, on the nephew of the favourite; and Mary of Medicis diſcerned too

late that ſhe had fallen a victim to the ſpecious arts and worldly views of the ſubtle churchman.

For a ſeries of fifty years the province of Bearn, the patrimony of Henry the Fourth, had maintained the religion of the reformed, pure and inviolate. The ſuggeſtions of the favourite, impatient of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his zeal for the ancient worſhip, prevailed on the king to enter that country with his forces, and re-eſtabliſh the catholic church; ſurpriſed and unprepared for reſiſtance, the Bearnois bent before the ſtorm they were incapable of reſiſting; maſs was celebrated in the preſence of Lewis; and after ſuppreſſing the privileges, and uniting the principality of Bearn to the crown, the monarch returned in triumph to his capital to meditate new enterpriſes, and to extend the limits of the royal authority.

A. D. 1621. The inhabitants of Rochelle, enthuſiaſtic in the cauſe of religion, animated by the recollection of former exploits, and confiding in the edict of Nantz, ſtill publicly convened their aſſemblies, and braved the orders of their ſovereign, who prohibited their meetings as ſeditious, and proclaimed them rebels to the crown. But the duke of Luines, ſenſible of the danger of encountering the united force of the reformed, determined to detach from their intereſt

reſt the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres; to gratify the ambition of that powerful chieftain, who ruled Dauphinè with almoſt independent authority, the poſt of mareſchal-general of the camps was inſtituted; but the favourite at the ſame moment ſeized for himſelf the ſword of conſtable, which for ſeven ſucceſſive years, ſince the death of the duke of Montmorency, had been denied to the ſolicitations of rank and ability.

The intrigues and preparations of the court could not be concealed from the vigilant eye of the hugonots. The duke of Rohan, ſon-in-law to the duke of Sully, with his brother the duke of Soubiſe, exhorted them to defend their religious principles at the hazard of their lives. But du Pleſſis Mornai, who in the reign of Henry the Fourth had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ardour in the cauſe of calviniſm, now avowed his reluctance to oppoſe the authority of his ſovereign, and ſurrendered the important caſtle of Saumur, which commanded the paſſage of the Loire. His example was followed by the duke of Tremouille, and the duke of Bouillon, reſpectable from his experience, and from his principality of Sedan. The king himſelf, accompanied by the new conſtable, the prince of Condè, and the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres, inveſted St. Jean d'Angeli; for thirty-five days the duke of Soubiſe repulſed

with perſevering valour the inceſſant attacks of the royal forces; their ſuperior numbers at length compelled him to ſurrender; and ſome praiſe is due to the magnanimity of Lewis, who reſpected the gallantry of the garriſon, and permitted them to depart without moleſtation.

From the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, the royal army moved forwards towards Montauban; but the care of the proteſtants had provided that place with a numerous garriſon, commanded by the marquis de la Force; and the pride and power of the monarch were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the ſkill of that officer, and the conſtancy of his brave companions. Their ſallies from the town were equally bold and prudent; and in repelling the aſſaults of the beſiegers, they diſplayed an invincible courage; for three months Lewis and his general preſſed their attacks with incredible obſtinacy; but the loſs of the duke Mayenne, with his braveſt officers and the flower of his army, obliged the king to abandon the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and to lead back his haraſſed forces to Paris.

With the ſiege of Montauban the reputation of the duke of Luines expired; and it is probable that a timely death preſerved him from experiencing on what a ſandy foundation he had erected the edifice of greatneſs. From the mo-

ment

ment that he had extorted the ſword of conſtable, Lewis, profuſe to his favourites, but jealous of a maſter, had viewed him with eyes of diſtruſt; and the duke himſelf, alarmed at the ſymptoms of impending diſgrace, ſunk under the preſſure of his fears; and cloſed a life, remarkable only for the ſplendid and unmerited fortune that had attended it.

In Spain, Philip the Third, unnoticed and unlamented, had ſunk into the grave; while Lewis, indifferent to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, reſumed his deſigns againſt his own ſubjects with redoubled ardour; he had beſtowed the ſword of conſtable on the duke of Leſdeguieres, who had abjured the proteſtant religion, and entered the pale of the catholic church. At the head of his councils he placed the cardinal de Retz, and the count of Schomberg; and in conſequence of their advice, he marched into the province of Poitou, with a ſmall but well diſciplined army, to chaſtiſe the duke of Soubiſe, who, after the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, had collected a band of deſperate and indigent aſſociates, and ravaged the defenceleſs country. On the approach of the royal forces, he retired into the iſland of Rhe, ſeparated from the continent by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which was fordable at low-water. The difficulty of the A. D. 1622.

enterpriſe could not reſtrain the indignant courage of Lewis; impatient of reſiſtance, he croſſed the ſea under cover of the night, and ſtormed the intrenchments of his rebellious ſubjects: the duke of Soubiſe, with a few companions of his fortunes, eſcaped the vengeance of his ſovereign, by committing himſelf to the waves, and ſwimming to the continent.

Negrepeliſſe was ſtormed by the prince of Condè, and the lives of the inhabitants of every age and ſex were involved in one promiſcuous carnage; but this inſtance of rigid ſeverity impreſſed not with terror the enthuſiaſtic courage of the proteſtants. The walls of Montpellier were defended by the duke of Rohan in perſon, and the prince of Condè beheld the flower of his army conſumed in ineffectual aſſaults; the citizens of Rochelle, though inveſted by ſea and land, ſtill preſerved their former conſtancy; and Lewis, liſtening to the counſels of the conſtable Leſdeguieres, who revolved with concern the deſtruction of a party whoſe principles he had formerly ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported, conſented to cloſe the bleeding wounds of his country by a treaty with the hugonots; the edict of Nantz was again confirmed; the royal forces were withdrawn from the gates and harbour of Rochelle; and the inhabitants of Montpellier ſubmitted to acknow-

acknowledge their ſovereign, and to receive him within their walls; but the king in the moment of confidence violated the article that diſmiſſed them from the dread of a royal garriſon; two regiments devoted to his ſervice were left in that city; and the proteſtants, too weak to oppoſe, could only indulge their reſentment in empty murmurs.

During the convulſions of Italy, and the tranſient authority of the Sforzas in Milan, the Valteline, a country ſituated on the borders of Ferol and Milan, but annexed to the dominions of the latter, had been occupied by the hardy natives of that part of Switzerland diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Griſons*; their poſſeſſion of it had been guarantied by Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth; but Spain, with the acquiſition of the duchy of Milan, extended her pretenſions alſo to the Valteline; to oppoſe her ambition, a confederacy was formed by the duke of Savoy and the ſtate of Venice; and France readily agreed to a league, in which her honour and intereſt were involved. The court of Spain, alarmed at ſo formidable a junction, conſented in ſome meaſure to recede from her claim, and to ſequeſter the Valteline into the hands of the Roman pontiff, Gregory the A. D. 1623.

Fifteenth, an expedient which Lewis for the preſent thought it prudent to acquieſce in.

A. D. 1624. But the attention of the public was ſoon diverted from foreign to domeſtic concerns. The cardinal de Retz had expired amidſt the diſſentions of his country; the partiality of the queen for the biſhop of Lucon, now known as cardinal Richelieu, was revived; and the king was prevailed upon to introduce into his councils a man deſtined to reſtore the grandeur of France, and to eſtabliſh a new epoch in the reign of Lewis.

Chapter the Thirty-third.

DESIGNS OF RICHELIEU—HE EXPELS THE ECCLESIASTICAL FORCES FROM THE VALTELINE—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA TO CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES—WAR WITH THE PROTESTANTS—WITH SPAIN—PEACE WITH THE LATTER—ENGLAND ARMS IN DEFENCE OF THE HUGONOTS—SIEGE OF ROCHELLE—WAR WITH THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA—REVOLT OF THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND MONTMORENCI—EXECUTION OF THE LATTER—INVASION OF PICARDY—REVOLT AND DEATH OF THE COUNT OF SOISSONS—CONSPIRACY OF MESSIEURS CINQ MARS, AND DE THOU—THEIR FATE—REDUCTION OF PERPIGNAN—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RICHELIEU—OF LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.

FROM the tedious and unintereſting annals of a monarch whoſe perſonal courage alone faintly gilds the gloom of the political horizon, A. D. 1624.

rizon, the hiſtorian with pleaſure haſtens to the vigorous counſels and aſpiring ſpirit of his miniſter, whoſe commanding genius burſt the narrow limits of the cloyſter, and awed and aſtoniſhed the nations of Europe with the blaze of its meridian luſtre. Born to ſteer the veſſel of ſtate amidſt ſtorms and quickſands, the political talents of the cardinal Richelieu, have to the preſent moment extorted the praiſe and admiration of poſterity; frequently ſucceſsful, and always great in his deſigns, he roſe with accumulated ſtrength from defeat; and the ambitious prelate had no ſooner exchanged the crozier for the ſeals, than his open and ſecret enemies were overwhelmed by the torrent of his ambition. During eighteen years he maintained his aſcendancy over the jealous mind of his ſovereign; the reformed, who had triumphed over the artifices of Catherine of Medicis, and the bloody rage of Charles the Ninth, were broken by his invincible arm; and the houſe of Auſtria, defeated and depreſſed, was forced to yield to his ſuperior fortune, that which the valour and virtues of Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth had in vain attempted.

His rivals in the cabinet were the firſt victims to the arts of Richelieu; and the duke of Vieuville, to whom had been entruſted the care of the finances,

finances, was not only diſmiſſed from his poſt, but even committed to the caſtle of Amboiſe; his ſucceſſor Marillac, endeavoured to avoid a ſimilar fate, by an obſequious compliance with the will of the cardinal; who no ſooner had eſtabliſhed his authority at home, than he prepared to extend the terror of his name abroad. His admiſſion into the conclave had not ſerved to impreſs him with zeal or awe for the court of Rome; and his contempt of the roman pontiff was diſplayed in his inſtructions to expel the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline. The marquis of Cœuvres obeyed with alacrity orders ſo congenial to his own inclinations; Gregory the Fifteenth, ſenſible of the inefficacy of the thunders of the vatican, which had once appeared ſo formidable, contented himſelf with remonſtrances, which Richelieu received with impatience and conſigned to neglect.

James of England, wrapped in the proud and conſtant contemplation of royal dignity, conſidered every alliance below that of a king, as unworthy of the prince of Wales; and determined never to beſtow the hand of his ſon Charles, but on a daughter of France or Spain. With the latter court his ambaſſador, the earl of Briſtol, had opened a negociation. Philip the Fourth received his propoſals with pleaſure; and

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with the infanta offered a portion of ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the reſtitution of the palatinate, which had been wreſted from Frederic, ſon-in-law to James, by the emperor of Germany. But when all meaſures were agreed between both parties, and nothing was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, this connection, ſo honourable and advantageous to England, was broken by a romantic enterpriſe, originally conceived with the idea of haſtening and cementing the propoſed alliance.

George Villiers, with the ſole recommendation of perſonal accompliſhments, had rapidly advanced in the favour of James, too partial to external advantages; and from an obſcure condition, had attained the rank and title of duke of Buckingham; to ingratiate himſelf alſo with the ſon, he propoſed to the prince of Wales to break through the forms which uſually bind the heirs of royalty, and paſſing in diſguiſe to Madrid, to introduce himſelf to the infanta as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles reliſhed the gallantry of the propoſal; a reluctant conſent by the tears of his ſon, and the reproaches of his favourite, was extorted from James; and the prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately quitted London, and croſſed over to Calais. They had even the temerity in their journey to viſit the

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French court in diſguiſe, and the charms of the princeſs Henrietta, the ſiſter of Lewis, made a lively and deep impreſſion on the heart of the youthful prince.

Though Charles and the duke were received at Madrid with every mark of reſpect and attention by the king of Spain, yet the volatile manners, and diſſolute pleaſures of the latter, but ill accorded with the gravity and dignity of the Spaniſh court. Influenced by motives of diſguſt or caprice, he determined to return without accompliſhing the object of their journey; he eaſily obtained the acquieſcence of Charles; the delay of the diſpenſation afforded a decent pretence; and immediately on their arrival in England, the duke of Buckingham prevailed on the eaſy king and prince, firſt to ſuſpend, and afterwards to break off the negociation with Spain.

But James ſtill continued firmly fixed in opinion, that his ſon would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal pedigree. After the rupture therefore with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France, and to that court he immediately applied himſelf. The earls of Holland and Carliſle were ſent over ambaſſadors on this occaſion; but though the portion of Henrietta equalled not that of the infanta, and the reſtitution

A. D. 1625.

reſtitution of the palatinate could not be expected from this alliance, yet the ſuperior addreſs of Richelieu to the Engliſh miniſters, extorted the ſame terms for the chriſtian king as had been granted to the catholic. To Henrietta was allowed the important privilege of educating her children till they attained the age of thirteen, and Buckingham was diſpatched to Paris to conduct the bride to her royal conſort; who, by the death of his father James, had aſcended the throne of England.

But the near alliance of France with a Proteſtant king did not deter the cardinal from nouriſhing the moſt fatal deſigns againſt the followers of the reformed religion. Pride had induced him to brave the impotent reſentment of the court of Rome; and that policy which conſidered the augmentation of the regal authority as the grand object of his adminiſtration, prompted him to meditate the extirpation of a hardy ſect, whoſe frequent revolts openly violated the dignity of the crown. Several circumſtances pointed out to him the favourable moment of enterpriſe; the duke of Bouillon, and du Pleſſis Mornai, formidable from their abilities, their experience, and their influence, had ſunk into the grave covered with years and glory; and though the brothers of Rohan and Soubiſe, by their martial exploits

ploits had acquired and maintained a high reputation, yet their impetuous courage too often ſlighted the voice of prudence, and precipitated their party into dangers, which hourly threatened their deſtruction.

The late treaty had been infringed by the introduction of a royal garriſon into Montpellier, and the remonſtrances of the hugonots had been diſregarded or evaded by the court. A new ſubject of diſcontent now preſented itſelf in a royal fleet ſtationed at L'Orient, to guard and block up the harbour of Rochelle. The duke of Soubiſe offered with a few ſhips ſuddenly to attack and deſtroy the hoſtile ſquadron; and permitted the hugonots, if he failed in the attempt, to diſown his conduct. Though his meaſures were betrayed, he happily accompliſhed the daring project; and on the firſt intelligence of his ſucceſs, his brother the duke of Rohan reſumed his arms, and again diſplayed the banner of revolt. A ſharp and deſultory war was carried on with that fire and animoſity that attends religious commotion. The Rochellers were defeated at ſea by the united ſquadrons of France and England; but the loſs of the confederates in the action prevented them from improving their advantage. The clamours of the Engliſh compelled their ſovereign to interfere; the mediation of the con-

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ſort of Henrietta was liſtened to with reſpect; and a peace at length was concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz; the harbour of Rochelle was delivered from the vigilance of the royal ſquadrons; the fort of St. Lewis, which approached and inſulted that city, was to be demoliſhed within ſix months; and the king of France conſented that his brother-in-law, the king of England, ſhould guarantee to the proteſtants the articles of the peace.

Philip had beheld with indignation the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical troops from the Valteline; the French, as allies to the duke of Savoy, ſtill maintained the war againſt the power of Spain. The Spaniards, in attempting to raiſe the ſiege of Verue, were defeated with conſiderable loſs; but Urban the Eighth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical chair, prevented the two crowns from coming to an open rupture. His zeal to reconcile the moſt powerful princes of the catholic church was attended with ſucceſs; a treaty was concluded at Moncon, by which the ſovereignty of the Valteline was confirmed to the Griſons, and the paſſes of that country, by the gratitude of her allies, were ſecured to France.

A. D. 1626. The reputation of Richelieu was not increaſed by his firſt eſſays in arms; to the hugonots he had granted the moſt favourable

favourable conditions; and in the late treaty of Moncon the duke of Savoy loudly complained that his intereſts were deſerted. But if abroad his ability and integrity were impeached, at home, he was expoſed to the envy and rage which attends ſucceſsful ambition. Gaſton, duke of Orleans, and brother to the king, had completed his eighteenth year, and that irreſolution, which formed the predominant feature of his character, began already to diſplay itſelf. His father, Henry the Fourth, had expreſſed his wiſh that he might be united to mademoiſelle Montpenſier, one of the greateſt heireſſes of France; but the favourites of the duke of Orleans endeavoured to divert his inclinations to a marriage with ſome foreign princeſs, whoſe connections might render him independent of the power of the miniſter. Their intrigues could not elude the vigilance of the cardinal; the mareſchal Ornano, who had even concerted the aſſaſſination of Richelieu, was committed to the Baſtile, and delivered by diſeaſe from an ignominious death; the count of Chalais expired on a ſcaffold; the duke of Vendoſme, and his brother the grand prior, were cloſely guarded; and the count of Soiſſons, by a haſty flight, ſought ſhelter from the tempeſt in the court of Rome. The deſigns of his enemies ſerved only to eſtabliſh the authority and influence of

the cardinal, and the partiality of Lewis for his miniſter, was evidently diſplayed in the honourable diſtinction of guards for the protection of his perſon.

The duke of Orleans, deprived of all in whom he could repoſe confidence, returned to court; and with his natural levity conceived, or pretended, a violent paſſion for mademoiſelle Montpenſier. Their nuptial ceremony was performed by the cardinal; but though the duke himſelf obtained, from the liberality of his brother, the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois, his ſolicitations for his unhappy friends were ineffectual; and the cardinal having cruſhed the enemies of his perſon, prepared to extinguiſh thoſe of his faith.

Though ardent in his deſigns of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, he was convinced, to exert the power of France, it was firſt neceſſary to extirpate the ſeeds of civil commotion; the proteſtants, impatient of delay, had urged by arms the demolition of Fort St. Lewis; but their temerity was checked by the formidable preparations and vigorous meaſures of Richelieu; and the duke of Soubiſe, anxious for the ſafety of Rochelle, menaced on every ſide, implored and obtained the aſſiſtance of England.

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That court, embaraſſed by domeſtic factions and an unſucceſsful war A. D. 1627.
with Spain, ought, perhaps, in prudence to have declined any hoſtile enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of France. Its mediation, in behalf of the reformed, had hitherto been attended with the greateſt advantages; and Richelieu himſelf, daring as he was, could not but regard, with ſome degree of dread, the martial ſpirit of a people who had ſo often proved the ſcourge of his country; but the duke of Buckingham ſtill maintained his aſcendancy over the mind of Charles; when diſpatched to receive the princeſs Henrietta, he had entertained a guilty paſſion for the queen of France; the beauty of his perſon, the elegance of his manners, and the ſplendour of his equipage, caſt round him a luſtre, which is ſuppoſed even to have dazzled the eyes of royalty; a private viſit that he paid to Anne, was received with a reproof, that favored more of kindneſs than anger; but his preſumption had not eſcaped the obſervation of the cardinal; the vigilance of that miniſter was exerted to preclude all future correſpondence; on preparations of Buckingham for a ſecond embaſſy to Paris, he was informed by a meſſage from Lewis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey; and though he reluctantly abandoned the deſign, he ever after nouriſhed a deep reſent-

ment againſt Richelieu, to whoſe ſuggeſtions he imputed his diſappointment.

A. D. 1627. 1628. He had already, in a wanton inſult, diſplayed the features of his imperious diſpoſition; he prevailed on Charles to ſend back to France all the domeſtics of that nation, who had attended Henrietta to England. The mareſchal Baſſompierre was diſpatched by Lewis to the court of London, to remonſtrate againſt this infraction of the marriage articles; and though the addreſs of the ambaſſador renderered him acceptable to Charles, yet his efforts could only ſuſpend the increaſing jealouſy and enmity of Buckingham.

Implacable in his hatred, that haughty favourite now liſtened with pleaſure to the repreſentations of the duke of Soubiſe; in the naval victory over the Rochellers, the fleet of France had been reinforced by a ſquadron from England, and the ſubſequent peace had been concluded under the mediation of Charles; that monarch had aſſiſted in humbling the hugonots, and his honour was concerned in faithfully guaranteing a treaty, which his arms had compelled them to accept; when to theſe arguments were added the ſolicitations of Buckingham, and the clamours of his people, zealous for their oppreſſed proteſtant brethren,

brethren, it is no wonder, that the reluctance of Charles was overwhelmed by their united force.

Before the mighty preparations of Richelieu could be completed, a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France. Both of theſe were entruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who preſented himſelf with his armament before the harbour of Rochelle; but ſo ill-concerted were his meaſures, that the inhabitants refuſed to admit theſe formidable allies, of whoſe coming they had not been previouſly informed. Diſappointed in this expectation, the duke directed his operations againſt Rhè, an adjacent iſland, protected by a numerous garriſon and ſtrong fortifications; he landed his men, though with ſome loſs; and had he immediately urged his attacks, and not allowed Thoiras, the French governor, ſeveral days reſpite, he might probably have reduced St. Martin, the principal fortreſs of the iſland; but his negligence and unaccountable delay enabled the French to repleniſh the magazines, and reinforce the garriſon of that place. The Engliſh were repulſed in repeated attacks; detached and ſucceſſive bodies of troops were poured by the cardinal into the iſland; and Buckingham himſelf, after the loſs of two thirds of his original force, found it neceſſary to conſult

his ſafety by a precipitate retreat. He conducted the rear in perſon, with a gallantry which in ſome meaſure effaced the diſgrace of defeat; but while the teſtimony of his companions eſtabliſhed the reputation of his courage, the voice of the public loudly impeached his ſkill and judgment.

The retreat of Buckingham was the ſignal for action to Richelieu. That miniſter had already ſecured, by ſeparate treaties, the alliance of Spain and the united provinces; his addreſs had repreſented to the court of Philip his treaty with the latter, as ſolely a temporary expedient to prevent their arming in defence of the reformed; he had recalled and pardoned the count of Soiſſons; and while he reſtrained the levity, had conciliated to his deſigns the inclinations of the duke of Orleans. The army that he had aſſembled was commanded by the king in perſon, and animated by the preſence of the principal nobility. The cardinal, who accompanied his ſovereign, aſpired to the reputation of a general as well as a ſtateſman; he planned the lines of circumvallation; deſigned the different forts, and directed the attacks. To deprive the beſieged of all ſuccour, his boundleſs genius formed the project of throwing acroſs the harbour, a mole of a mile's extent in that boiſterous ocean. His diligence daily urged and inſpected the work; but before it yet could

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be completed, the fleet of England, commanded by the earl of Denbigh, once more appeared in view. The Rochellers crowded to their ramparts with the expectation of inſtant relief, and Richelieu trembled for the darling ſtructure which his daring ambition had ſuggeſted; but he was preſerved from diſgrace by the treachery or cowardice of the Engliſh admiral; and the earl of Denbigh, after throwing into the city a ſcanty ſupply of corn, declined an engagement with the fleet of France, and retired to Portſmouth. To efface the diſhonour of the Engliſh arms, the duke of Buckingham determined, in perſon, to reſume the command; but while his preſence haſtened the preparations, he fell a victim to the national indignation, and was aſſaſſinated by the hand of a fanatic, named Felton; who avowed himſelf prompted to the deed by the remonſtrance of the commons, that declared the duke the ſource of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public.

The unhappy fate of Buckingham ſuſpended the armaments of England; each moment was aſſiduouſly employed by the cardinal; and he at length beheld the ſtupendous work completed, and enabled to defy the efforts of the enemy. In vain did the earl of Lindſay, who ſucceeded to the command of the Engliſh fleet, endeavour to

force his way to the harbour. The mole, firmly and ſtrongly fortified, reſiſted and repelled the weight of his attacks. Hopeleſs of ſucceſs, he abandoned the Rochellers to deſpair, and ſteered back his courſe to England. The laſt ſpark of enthuſiaſm, which had ſo long inſpired the miſerable inhabitants of that city, expired with the ſignal of his retreat. While yet his ſails were in ſight, they conſented to ſurrender at diſcretion; and ſome idea may be formed of the miſeries they had endured, ſince of fifteen thouſand perſons who had originally been ſhut up in Rochelle, four thouſand alone ſurvived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue, and the ſword.

The king entered the proſtrate city in triumph; and the fortune of the cardinal was ſtill more conſpicuous in the moment of ſubmiſſion, than even his genius had ſhone forth in the courſe of the ſiege. Scarce had the citizens opened their gates to implore the clemency of their ſovereign, before a tempeſt, ſo violent, agitated the ocean, as to bury in the waves the proud ſtructure that he had planned. Had the Rochellers perſevered but a few hours longer, the fury of the ſtorm had overwhelmed the pride of the cardinal, and preſerved their freedom; but the wretched inhabitants drew ſome conſolation from the pity of their monarch; their walls were indeed diſmantled; but their perſons and effects were

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ſpared; and the moderation of Lewis and his miniſter, ſatisfied with having broken the power of the hugonots, and wreſted from them their ancient aſylum, ſtill permitted them to enjoy an open and avowed toleration.

The celebrated duke of Leſdeguieres had expired amidſt the diſſentions of his country, without beholding the humiliation of the reformed, whoſe tenets he had formerly profeſſed, and whoſe principles he had ſucceſsfully vindicated with his ſword. On his deceaſe, the king reſolved to ſuppreſs the office of conſtable, a dignity that he thought raiſed the ſubject too near the throne; he obtained, at the ſame time, from the duke of Montmorency, the reſignation of the poſt of admiral, and committed the management of the marine to the vigilance of the cardinal. The genius of that aſpiring ſtateſmen, which embraced every department, had juſtified the diſcernment of his ſovereign in the ſiege of Rochelle; but though his addreſs might baffle, his abilities could not extinguiſh, the hatred of a court; the ducheſs of Orleans had found her grave in the nuptial bed; after being delivered of a daughter, ſhe expired, lamented by her conſort, whoſe former reluctance her amiable qualities had converted into a lively affection; but the duke ſoon after reſumed his intrigues; his natural levity ſoon returned to efface

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the loſs of his late ducheſs; he profeſſed an ardent paſſion for Mary de Gonzagua, the daughter of the duke of Nevers; and his addreſſes to that lady were alternately renewed, or ſuſpended, as his own caprice inclined, and the intereſt of his favourites dictated.

A. D. 1629. The contempt of the cardinal for the ſee of Rome had been inſtanced in the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline; ſuperior to the influence of religious ſuperſtition, from political motives alone, he had armed the power of the crown againſt the reformed; to exalt the glory of France and to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he now reſigned his own perſonal reſentments. On the death of Vincent duke of Mantua, his kinſman, the duke of Nevers, pleaded his claim as the next male in ſucceſſion to that duchy; but the emperor aſſerted his right as ſupreme prince, and beſtowed the inveſtiture on the duke of Guaſtalla; and the duke of Savoy alſo urged his pretenſions to the Marquiſate of Montferrat; both were ſupported by the forces and treaſures of Philip; the banners of Spain were diſplayed from the walls of Mantua; and the duke of Nevers could only loudly accuſe an uſurpation which he was incapable of reſiſting. He had incurred the diſpleaſure of the cardinal by entering into the cabals of his avowed enemies;

enemies; he was expoſed to the perſecution of the queen-mother, who regarded, with open averſion and female rage, the paſſion of the duke of Orleans for Mary de Gonzagua; but in the mind of Richelieu, the intereſt of the ſtate ſuperceded every other conſideration; and while he abandoned the ſenſe of his own injuries, he was deaf to the implacable enmity of Mary of Medicis. He adviſed the king of France to embrace the opportunity of ſupporting his own ſubject, the duke of Nevers, againſt the injuſtice of the houſe of Auſtria. The ardent ſpirit of the miniſter communicated itſelf to the monarch; and with the veterans whoſe diſcipline had been confirmed, and whoſe perſeverance had been exerciſed in the ſiege of Rochelle, Lewis, early in the enſuing ſpring, erected his ſtandard, and prepared to march to the relief of Caſal, which was beſieged by the forces of the confederates. The inclemency of the ſeaſon, the rugged tracts of the Alps in vain oppoſed his progreſs; he penetrated through the narrow paſs of Suza; and the duke of Savoy, alarmed at his approach, conſented to deſert his allies, and to negociate a treaty with France. He engaged to allow a free paſſage, and to ſupply with proviſions the forces of Lewis. He agreed, with his own army, to join the French ſtandard,

ſtandard, and to chace the Spaniards from the walls of Caſal.

To the defence of that fortreſs, Lewis detached three thouſand choſen ſoldiers, under the command of Thoiras, who had already ſignalized his gallantry in the defence of the iſland of Rhè. The monarch himſelf, with his miniſter, animated by ſucceſs, traverſed again the Alps, and entered his kingdom to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the hugonots. The duke of Rohan, undiſmayed by the reduction of Rochelle, ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt in Guienne, Languedoc, and the mountains of the Cevennes. Niſmes, Montauban, Caſtres, Privas, and Alais, ſtill profeſſed the principles of the reformed, and declared their reſolution to ſeal their faith with their blood. While the cardinal oppreſſed by a ſlow and dangerous fever, ſought a tranſient repoſe from his toils, the king aſſaulted the walls of Privas, compelled the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion, and devoted the inhabitants, without exception of age or ſex, to the ſword. Richelieu, rejoiced at his abſence from the promiſcuous maſſacre which ſullied the victory of his ſovereign. This inſtance of ſeverity ſtruck terror indeed into the citizens of Alais; ſtrongly fortified, and amply provided, that place might long have reſiſted the attacks of the royal army; the gates were immediately

mediately opened on the approach of the king, and the duke of Rohan, too fatally convinced of the inability of the proteſtants any longer to defend themſelves by arms, ſigned a treaty, which reſtored the reformed to their eſtates and the free exerciſe of their religion, but deprived them in their fortified towns of the means of protecting either. He himſelf immediately after withdrew into honourable exile. But the citizens of Montauban rejected terms which involved their walls in deſtruction, and refuſed admittance to the prince of Condé, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition they dreaded. To the exhortations of Richelieu himſelf they were leſs inexorable; the cardinal with his guards were invited to enter the city; and the lenity with which he treated the inhabitants, added a milder luſtre to the glory that he had acquired by the ſucceſs of his martial enterpriſes.

The enemies of Richelieu had again reſumed their intrigues, but A. D. 1630. their cabals proved fatal to themſelves, and ſerved to confirm the authority of the cardinal, who Lewis, by letters patent, inveſted with the title of *principal miniſter*. The duke of Savoy had availed himſelf of the late hoſtile operations againſt the proteſtants, had violated the treaty of Suza, and had joined the Spaniards in the ſiege of Caſal.

To the title of miniſter, the king of France added that of lieutenant general; and the cardinal, poſſeſſed of all military and civil power, prepared to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the Savoyard. He croſſed again the Alps in perſon; and while he affected to liſten to terms of accommodation, continued his march with unwearied rapidity. The heads of his columns were already pointed towards Turin, and the duke was diligently occupied in preparing for the defence of his capital, when Richelieu, ſuddenly changing his direction, preſented himſelf before the gates of Pignerol; that important fortreſs, which opened a direct road from Dauphiné into Italy, was taken in twelve days; and the miniſter now ſummoned Lewis to the camp to ſhare the glory of his ambitious projects. With a veteran army of twenty-five thouſand men, the king of France overran and reduced the country of Savoy; Mazarin, afterwards ſo well known in France by the dignity of cardinal and the power of miniſter, was ſent to negociate with Lewis on behalf of the duke of Savoy; a partial ſuſpenſion of arms was all he could obtain; and that unhappy prince, who beheld his territories portioned out between his implacable enemies, and faithleſs allies, ſunk himſelf into the grave the victim of diſappointed ambition.

The death of the duke of Savoy facilitated the progreſs of the French. Revel, Ville Franche, and Poncallier, inſtantly capitulated; but their career of conqueſt was checked by a peſtilential diſorder, which thinned and debilitated the armies of France. The king himſelf indiſpoſed, and attended by the cardinal, had retired to Lyons; and the remnant of the troops under the mareſchals de le Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, were ordered to proceed to the relief of Caſal. Feeble and enervated by diſeaſe, the ardour of the generals inſpired the ſoldiers; they already beheld the walls of that fortreſs, and the camp of the beſiegers; but when they hourly expected the ſignal for engagement, they were preſerved from the encounter with the freſh and vigorous troops of Spain, by intelligence of the treaty of Ratiſbon, negociated by Mazarin, and which eſtabliſhed the duke of Nevers in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mantua, and the marquiſate of Montferrat.

The indiſpoſition of Lewis was attended by the moſt alarming ſymptoms, and in the danger of the monarch the miniſter beheld his own. His enemies, encouraged by the queen-mother, reſumed their hopes and intrigues; but when the phyſicians had even pronounced the recovery of Lewis impoſſible, a ſudden and favourable turn

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in his diſorder confounded the foes, and confirmed the authority of the cardinal. The moſt active of his enemies were diſgraced and arreſted; and Mary of Medicis herſelf was compelled to ſubmit to a feigned reconciliation with the haughty ſtateſman, whoſe influence over the mind of her ſon had overwhelmed his regard, and even reſpect for his parent.

A. D. 1631. Sweden emerging from obſcurity and animated by the heroic genius of the great Guſtavus, had already penetrated into Germany, and ſhaken by ſucceſſive victories the imperial deſpotiſm of the houſe of Auſtria; to ſecond her efforts the cardinal negociated a treaty, by which he engaged annually to ſupply Guſtavus with four hundred thouſand crowns; while he acquired with equal addreſs, by a ſecret article with the duke of Savoy, the ſtrong fortreſs of Pignerol, and prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a French garriſon into Caſal. Yet even thoſe negociations ſo advantageous to his country, could not exempt him from the malice of his adverſaries; the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans ſtill retained their implacable enmity. But their adherents, the princeſs of Conti, with the ducheſſes of Elbœuf and Leſdiguieres were ſentenced to exile, and the mareſchal Baſſompierre was committed to the Baſtile. Mary

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of Medicis eſcaped to Flanders from the ſtern juſtice of her ſon, and the inexorable reſentment of his miniſter; the duke of Orleans ſought ſhelter from the ſtorm in the court of Lorrain, and abandoning himſelf to his natural levity, eſpouſed Margaret the ſiſter of that prince.

The pride of the king of France was wounded by the preſumption of the duke of Lorrain, in affording ſhelter to, and contracting an alliance with, his fugitive brother. Twice he invaded the territories of that prince, and twice compelled him to ſue for peace on the moſt humiliating conditions. Amidſt theſe alarms the duke of Orleans had quitted a court which could no longer afford him ſecurity, and had retired to his mother Mary of Medicis in Flanders. While Lewis purſued his career of victory in Lorrain, his brother having collected a feeble band of two thouſand followers, penetrated into Burgundy, exhorted the inhabitants to arm againſt the arrogance of the cardinal, and inſulted and deſtroyed the ſuburbs of Dijon. Chaced from thence by the mareſchal de la Force, he retreated into Auvergne, and purſued by mareſchal Schomberg, eſcaped with his miſerable train into Languedoc. The duke of Montmorency, who governed that province, received the brother of his ſovereign with open arms, and eſpouſed his deſigns with A. D. 1632.

ardour. Though Thoulouſe, the capital, maintained its loyalty, and proclaimed the adherents of the duke of Orleans rebels, yet the amiable qualities of Montmorency drew to Pezenas the principal nobility of the province; on theſe he beſtowed the title of ſtates of Languedoc; in an eloquent and ſpirited manifeſto he arraigned the pride, the inſolence, and the oppreſſive adminiſtration of the cardinal; and to ſupport his declarations by action, at the head of ten thouſand men, who had crowded to his ſtandard, he preſſed forwards to attack mareſchal Schomberg, who with four thouſand infantry had poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſtrong camp near Caſtelnaudari. The impetuous courage of Montmorency, with his cavalry alone, attacked the entrenchments of that general. His example inſpired his followers with the moſt heroic reſolution; the works of the royaliſts were pierced by their daring efforts; but while their leader diſplayed the valour of a ſoldier, he neglected the duties of a commander; his martial train, as they ruſhed on to improve their advantage, were betrayed into an ambuſcade and overwhelmed by ſuperior numbers; the duke of Montmorency, wounded in ſeveral places, and his horſe killed under him, was taken priſoner; and the duke of Orleans, informed of his fate, inſtead of endeavouring to retrieve the day,

day, retreated with his ſcattered and diſheartened troops.

The inexorable juſtice of Lewis ſuffered not the duke of Montmorency long to languiſh in confinement; his proceſs was immediately formed before the parliament; he was ſentenced to loſe his head; and he expired on the ſcaffold with calm undaunted courage. Inferior only to his anceſtors in fortune, in him were extinguiſhed the male deſcendants of the houſe of Montmorency; and while the jealouſy of Lewis refuſed to ſpare his life, his liberality enriched with his eſtates the prince of Condè, who had married his ſiſter.

While the fate of Montmorency was in ſuſpence, the duke of Orleans had endeavoured to obtain his pardon by profeſſions of future allegiance; but no ſooner had the deadly blow been given, than that prince retired again into Flanders. His abſence and intrigues gave but little uneaſineſs to the court of France. That kingdom each day became more conſcious of her own ſtrength, and of her weight in the political balance of Europe. The great Guſtavus, after repeatedly defeating the veteran troops of Ferdinand, and delivering Germany from the imperial yoke, cloſed in the arms of victory a life of ſplendid atchievements and military renown. The memorable field of Lutzen, in which he triumphed and expired, raiſed again the droop-

ing ſpirits of the houſe of Auſtria, who welcomed a defeat that was accompanied by the fate of their moſt formidable adverſary. But Richelieu, diligent to improve every event, concerted his meaſures with prudence and promptitude; he nouriſhed by continual ſubſidies the confederacy of the German princes; he ſecretly negociated with the united ſtates of Holland, and he recalled the duke of Rohan from exile, and entruſted to his abilities the command of the French forces in the Valteline.

A. D. 1633. 1634. Though Richelieu regarded with contempt the machinations of the duke of Orleans, he ſuffered not the authority of his ſovereign to be inſulted with impunity by the reiterated hoſtilities of the duke of Lorrain. He eaſily perſuaded Lewis to regard that prince as the abettor of the factious deſigns of his brother, and once more to invade his dominions. Luneville and Saint Mihel were rapidly reduced by the French; Nanci was inveſted; and the unfortunate duke was compelled to ſurrender his capital as the pledge of his ſincerity, to deliver his ſiſter to the king of France, and to facilitate the diſſolution of her marriage with the duke of Orleans. But Lewis had ſcarce returned to Paris, before the duke of Lorrain having accompliſhed the eſcape of his ſiſter to Flanders, endeavoured

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to elude his engagements, and preſerve his people from the calamities of war, by magnanimouſly reſigning his territories to his brother Francis. This artifice could not avert the indignation of the cardinal; the mareſchal de la Force with a numerous army re-entered Lorrain, ſurprized the new duke and his conſort, and eſtabliſhed the authority of France throughout the whole duchy. The duke of Orleans, diſmayed by the deſtruction of his brother-in-law and ally, concluded a treaty of reconciliation, quitted Bruſſels alone, and threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis. But though he conſented to live at Blois ſeparate from his conſort, he perſevered, with a degree of conſtancy unuſual in his conduct, to maintain the valadity of his marriage.

While the cardinal counteracted with ſucceſs his domeſtic enemies, he was alarmed by the progreſs of the foreign foes of France, and the returning proſperity of the houſe of Auſtria. At Nordlingen the victories of Guſtavus were effaced by the total defeat of the Swedes; and the imperialiſts beheld twenty thouſand of their adverſaries lifeleſs on the field. The policy of Richelieu revived their fainting courage with liberal and conſtant pecuniary ſupplies; but at the ſame time he ſtipulated for the immediate

poſſeſſion of Philipſburgh and Spires in Germany; and the ceſſion of Alſace on the frontiers of Lorrain, as ſoon as he declared war againſt Spain.

Though long averſe to plunge his country into an open conteſt with the houſe of Auſtria, the ſituation of his allies allowed Lewis no further delay. The forces of the emperor had already occupied Philipſburgh; and the cardinal concluded a ſecret treaty with the united provinces of Holland. On the intelligence of this hoſtile negociation, the court of Spain determined by activity and vigour to anticipate the deſigns of her enemies; ſhe poured her forces into Treves, ſurprized the capital, and ſeized the elector, who had acceded to the league with France. This bold and ſucceſsful enterpriſe was reſented by France by an open declaration of war. The mareſchals Chatillon and Breze were commanded to march to the ſupport of the prince of Orange, then in the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht; in their progreſs they encountered and defeated with cruel ſlaughter the forces of Spain, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy. Animated by ſucceſs, and joined by the prince of Orange, they forced open the gates of Tillemont, and inveſted Louvain; but the diſſentions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this enterpriſe with

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diſgrace; and an army which threatened to ſubvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was waſted in vain attempts, or conſumed by fatigue and diſeaſe.

It was not alone by arms that Richelieu endeavoured to ſupport the glory of his country. His arts detached from the court of Spain the dukes of Savoy and Parma; and mareſchal Crequi was inſtructed, in concert with thoſe princes, to aſſert the liberties of Italy. He was defeated on the banks of the Po, by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and loudly impeached the envy and diſcontent of the duke of Savoy, as the ſource of his misfortune.

The king had beheld with impatience not only his foreign conqueſts ſhaken, but even his hereditary dominions inſulted; the duke of Lorrain had eluded the vigilance of his guards, and eſcaped from confinement; his appearance in that duchy revived the zeal of his ſubjects; ſeveral important places opened their gates to him; but his career was checked by the unexpected preſence of Lewis himſelf, who at the head of a ſmall army haſtily aſſembled, flew to maintain his former acquiſitions, retook Saint Mihel, and returned triumphant to Paris; while the duke of Rohan emulated in the Valteline the glory of his ſovereign, and in two bloody and ſucceſſive

engagements broke in that country the ſtrength of the imperialiſts and Spaniards.

A. D. 1636. Metz was reduced by the forces of the Emperor, but the Germans were compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Colmar by the cardinal Valette; who, deſpiſing the tranquil duties of the church, in imitation of Richelieu, aſpired to military glory. The Spaniards on their ſide poſſeſſed themſelves of St. John de Luz; but in Italy they were defeated by the ſkill and valour of the duke of Savoy; yet this misfortune was ſoon repaired, and Spain, after ravaging the territories of the duke of Parma, now meditated a more important enterpriſe.

To ſupport the war in ſo many different quarters, France had ſtripped of troops the frontier of Picardy, and expoſed it to the incurſions of her enemies. The Spaniſh army, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and reinforced by the celebrated Picolomini, entered the defenceleſs province, occupied Capelle and Catelet, paſſed the Somme in defiance of the French troops under the count of Soiſſons, and in leſs than a week reduced the ſtrong town of Corbie. The Pariſians liſtened with conſternation to the rapid and unexpected approach of their foes; the capital was filled with terror and confuſion; the ſovereign involved himſelf in a ſilent and gloomy deſpon-

deſpondence; but the cardinal diſplayed a fortitude and magnanimity worthy of his elevated fortunes. He threw himſelf on the confidence of the public; he diſmiſſed thoſe guards which the partiality of the king had aſſigned him; and ever fruitful in expedients, called forth on this emergency the reſources of the ſtate. The horſes and domeſtics of the wealthy, the perſonal ſervice of the poor, were demanded to encounter the impending danger. The ſcattered bands of France were ſoon ſwelled to an hoſt of fifty thouſand men. Richelieu would willingly have aſſumed the command himſelf, but the count of Soiſſons refuſed to ſerve under him; and the cardinal entruſted the fate of France to that prince, and the duke of Orleans, whoſe jealouſy of each other he imagined would prevent them from combining in any intrigues dangerous to his authority.

The diſcernment of the cardinal on this occaſion deſerted him; the two generals acted with perfect unanimity, compelled the Spaniards to repaſs the Somme, and retook Corbie; but at the ſame time they concerted the deſtruction of Richelieu, and Amiens was fixed upon as the ſcene of his aſſaſſination. At the moment when the conſpirators expected the ſignal from the duke of Orleans, the reſolution of that prince forſook him,

him, and he declared that his conſcience would not permit him to ſhed the blood of a cardinal, an archbiſhop, and a prieſt. The miniſter was not apprized of his danger till it was paſſed. The duke of Orleans haſtily retired to Blois, and the count of Soiſſons ſought ſhelter in Sedan; but the cardinal was unwilling at this critical juncture to increaſe his own enemies, and thoſe of the public. He prevailed on Lewis to treat both the princes with lenity; the duke of Orleans was ſoon reconciled, by acknowledging the validity of his marriage; and the count of Soiſſons was permitted to enjoy the income of his eſtates in exile.

A. D. 1637. The enſuing campaign opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to France. The duke of Parma, beſieged in Placentia, was compelled to renounce the alliance of that crown. The duke of Rohan, neglected by cardinal Richelieu, who ſtill regarded him with jealouſy, after exhauſting his private credit, was conſtrained to evacuate the Valteline. But theſe diſaſters were followed by a ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſs; the count of Harcourt recovered in Provence the iſlands of St. Margaret and St. Honoret; the duke of Valette reduced ſeveral forts which the Spaniards had ſeized in Guienne; mareſchal Schomberg raiſed the ſiege of Lucat, and defeated Serbellon the Spaniſh general; cardinal de la Valette

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again planted the ſtandard of France on the walls of Capelle; the mareſchal de Chatillon ſucceſsfully inveſted Damvilliers in Luxemburg; and the duke of Longueville extended his conqueſts in Franche-Comtè. In Italy, the duke of Savoy, ſeconded by mareſchal Crequi, triumphed over the Spaniards led by the duke of Modena; and in the Netherlands, the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange compelled the garriſon of Breda to ſurrender.

The flame of ſuperſtition was nouriſhed amidſt the devaſtations of war; A. D. 1638. and Lewis, to propitiate the favour of heaven, ſolemnly ſubmitted his kingdom to the protection of the holy virgin. The duke of Weimar, who had been trained to arms in the ſchool of Guſtavus, and who maintained an independent authority over an army of various nations, was ſupplied from the treaſures of France; he was however ſurpriſed and routed in the ſiege of Rheinfeld; the duke of Rohan, who had accompanied him from eſteem, here received his mortal wound, and cloſed a life of virtue and glory. But the duke of Weimar within a few days effaced his diſgrace by the total defeat of his enemies. Four imperial generals in chains atteſted his triumph, and the towns of Rheinfeld, Fribourg,

bourg, and Briſac, acknowledged the dominion of the victor.

The death of the duke of Savoy rather increaſed than diminiſhed the influence of France; his widow, the ſiſter of Lewis, was appointed regent during the minority of her infant ſon; and Richelieu reſolved to retaliate on Spain the invaſion of Picardy by the ſiege of Fontarabia. But the prince of Condè, to whom that enterpriſe was confided, was defeated by the admiral of Caſtile, and with the remnant of his army with difficulty eſcaped to his ſhips. This miſcarriage was balanced by a domeſtic event of the higheſt importance. The queen was at length delivered of a ſon, whoſe birth, while it ſecured the peaceable ſucceſſion to the throne, contributed to check the turbulent levity of the duke of Orleans, and to eſtabliſh the power of the cardinal.

A.D. 1639. The duke of Weimar, while his vigorous age and mature judgment promiſed him a long and ſplendid career of glory, expired after a ſhort illneſs; Richelieu had in vain endeavoured to perſuade him to part with his new acquiſition of Briſac; and his death at this critical period was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. By whatever means it was accompliſhed, the cardinal with his uſual dexterity availed himſelf of his deceaſe; he procured from his ſucceſ-

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ſors in command not only Briſac, but Fribourg alſo; and he prevailed on his army to acknowledge the authority of the duke of Longueville.

In Piedmont, the brothers of the late duke of Savoy diſputed with his widow the ſucceſſion to the regency. Supported by the marquis of Leganez, they ſurpriſed Chivas, were received into Quiers, Montcallier, and Goree; and aſſaulted Turin ſo ſuddenly, that the ducheſs had ſcarce time to retire into the citadel; from thence ſhe retreated to Grenoble, where ſhe had a perſonal interview with her brother; Lewis lamented her misfortunes, without affording her hopes of ſupport. The defeat of the marquis of Feuquieres by Picolomini increaſed the embaraſſments of France; and though the count of Harcourt in Piedmont recovered Quiers, and eluded the ſuperior forces of the marquis of Leganez and prince Thomas, his conduct and military ſkill were rather honourable to himſelf, than of eſſential ſervice to the ducheſs of Savoy.

In the Low Countries, the marquis of Meilleraie reduced Heſdin, and acquired the baton of mareſchal. But the continuance of the war had already oppreſſed the people with heavy impoſts, and the peaſants of Normandy tumultuouſly aſſembled, and broke out in acts of open outrage. The parliament of Rouen was ſuſpended

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for their neglect and lenity; and the chancellor Seguier, who was detached with ſix thouſand troops to puniſh the guilty, determined to avoid a ſimilar accuſation, and extinguiſhed the inſurrection with the lives of the inſurgents.

In Rouſillon, Salces, which had been captured by the prince of Condè, was recovered by the Spaniards; but the count of Harcourt acquired freſh laurels in Piedmont. He relieved Caſal, beſieged by the marquis of Leganez; and retook Turin, though defended by prince Thomas of Savoy in perſon. At ſea, the French obtained a deciſive victory over the fleet of Spain; and in the Netherlands the mareſchals Chaulnes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie, inveſted Arras. The cardinal infant, brother to Philip the Fourth, who had advanced to the relief of it, was repulſed at the moment that he thought himſelf ſecure of victory; and the city, after a defence of thirty-five days, was compelled to ſurrender.

A. D. 1640. 1641. But more deep and deadly wounds were inflicted on Spain by the imprudence of her own miniſters than by the enterpriſes of Richelieu. The Catalans, indignant at the open violation of their ancient privileges, erected the ſtandard of revolt. And Portugal, diſdaining any longer a dependant ſituation, ſhook off the yoke of Philip, and raiſed to the throne

throne John duke of Braganza. To the ſupport of the former, Lewis detached the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who reduced the city of Conſtantin; and with the latter he concluded a ſtrict and ſolemn alliance. Meanwhile in Germany the count of Guebriant, who had been educated to war under the duke of Weimar, maintained againſt the imperialiſts the glory of the French name; and the viſcount Turenne, a pupil of the ſame ſchool, happily ſeconded in Piedmont the efforts of the count of Harcourt.

The diſcontent and flight of the count of Soiſſons have already been noticed; in his exile of Sedan he ſtill nouriſhed his enmity to the cardinal; and ſupported by the dukes of Bouillon and Guiſe, he determined openly to purſue the emotions of his reſentment. Richelieu, ſenſible of his deſigns, detached mareſchal Chatillon with ten thouſand men to inveſt Sedan, and reduce him to ſubmiſſion. But the count was reinforced by a Spaniſh army under general Lamboi, and encountered the royal forces in the battle of Marfee. The troops of the mareſchal were already broken and diſperſed, when the fruits of victory were raviſhed from the conſpirators by the death of the count himſelf, who periſhed by a random ball. The circumſtances of his fate were dark and myſterious; but the policy of the

cardinal prevailed on the king to conſign to oblivion the guilt of his aſſociates, and the duke of Bouillon was again admitted to the preſence of his ſovereign, and permitted to retain the principality of Sedan.

A. D. 1641. 1642. In the Netherlands, Aire was captured by the mareſchal Meilleraie, and recovered again by the Spaniards; but it was in Rouſillon, the poſſeſſion of which would enable him effectually to ſuccour the Catalans, that the cardinal was determined to make the moſt vigorous efforts. Diſeaſe had long preyed upon his ſinking frame, but his mind ſtill roſe ſuperior to pain and laſſitude. His ardent ſpirit kindled the flame of martial ambition in Lewis; and though the declining health of the monarch threatened his ſpeedy diſſolution, yet he liſtened with pleaſure to the manly counſels of his miniſter, and prepared, with Richelieu, to accompany the army into Rouſillon; but at Narbonne the indiſpoſition of the cardinal increaſed to ſuch a dangerous height, as compelled him reluctantly to ſtop there, while the king, with the mareſchals Meilleraie and Schomberg purſued his route, and encamped under the hoſtile walls of Perpignan.

A. D. 1642. While Lewis in perſon preſſed the ſiege of that city, and Richelieu languiſhed

guiſhed on the bed of ſickneſs, a confederacy was formed, that promiſed to extinguiſh the power and ſhorten the fleeting moments of the latter. The lively temper, agreeable addreſs, and elegant perſon, of Cinq Mars, the ſecond ſon of mareſchal d'Effiet, ſeconded by the recommendations of the cardinal, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the king; but the favourite, haughty and intractable, regarded with averſion the ſuperior aſcendancy of the miniſter; Richelieu had repreſſed his ambition that aſpired to the ducal honours of France; and the gratitude of Cinq Mars, for paſt favours, was overwhelmed by reſentment. Weak himſelf, and incapable of great deſigns, he liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of M. de Thou, the ſon of the celebrated hiſtorian; by the advice of that gentleman, he connected himſelf with the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon; and ſoon after, in conjunction with thoſe princes, formed a ſecret alliance with the court of Spain. The duke of Bouillon was to have the command of the army, and engaged, in caſe of danger, to receive the duke of Orleans into Sedan; while Philip the Fourth promiſed to furniſh the conſpirators with ample ſupplies of money and a formidable body of troops.

But theſe intrigues, however ſecretly conducted, could not eſcape the jealous vigilance of the

cardinal. On the firſt intimation, he preſſed Lewis to quit the walls of Perpignan, and to repair to Narbonne. The defeat of the mareſchal Grammont, on the banks of the Scheld, diſpoſed the monarch to liſten to the ſolicitations of his miniſter, in whoſe abilities he alone could confide to retrieve the diſaſter; the cardinal, in this interview, is ſuppoſed bitterly to have reproached his ſovereign; and Lewis acknowledged that Cinq Mars had frequently urged him to the deſtruction of Richelieu. By the advice of that ſtateſman, the king proceeded to his capital, after inveſting the cardinal with diſcretionary powers for the deſtruction of his enemies. The duke of Orleans made an ample confeſſion; but though he refuſed publicly to bear evidence againſt his confederates, his life, as brother to the king, was reſpected; the duke of Bouillon purchaſed his pardon by the ceſſion of his principality of Sedan; but Cinq Mars and de Thou were condemned to atone for their preſumption on the ſcaffold; the morning of their execution brought intelligence of the ſurrender of Perpignan; and Richelieu appriſed the king of both events by a ſingle and expreſſive line. "Your troops are in "Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."

Mary of Medicis at Cologne cloſed a life, embittered by the diſcord of her ſons, and her own exile;

exile; the filial affection which Lewis had denied to her while living, was revived on the news of her death; but the attention of France was engroſſed by the approaching diſſolution of him whoſe daring counſels had driven her into baniſhment, and whoſe implacable vengeance had ſhed, by the hands of the executioner, the nobleſt blood of France. The glories and life of Richelieu now drew near their end; after the reduction of Perpignan, exhauſted in body, but ſtill vigorous in mind, he had approached the capital by ſlow and triumphant journies; his laſt moments atteſted his aſcendancy over his ſovereign, and were ſtill terrible to his enemies. On his death bed, he proteſted to Lewis, that his counſels had ever been directed to the honour of the crown and the welfare of the kingdom; and he terminated his ſplendid career with a fortitude and ſerenity that aſtoniſhed thoſe who had beheld the ſanguinary effects of his adminiſtration.

Three mighty and ſucceſsful projects immortalize the period of his government. He humbled the turbulent ſpirits of the great; he ſubdued the ſtubborn zeal of the hugonots; and he curbed the encroaching power of the houſe of Auſtria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, no combinations of the powerful nobles could withſtand his vengeance, no intrigues could

elude his penetration; while he exalted the throne, he controlled a ſovereign impatient of rule and jealous of his authority; and while he extinguiſhed the liberties of the people, he eſtabliſhed among them diſcipline and order, and opened to them the paths to learning and renown.

A. D. 1643. From the death of Richelieu, Lewis aſpired to hold the reins of government himſelf. Mazarin, for whom the late miniſter had obtained a cardinal's hat, and to whom he had lately imparted his confidence, was indeed introduced into the council; but the ſervants of the crown were retained in their former departments, and the only change that appeared, was recalling from baniſhment, and releaſing from confinement, the moſt illuſtrious objects of the cardinal's jealouſy or reſentment. The war was ſtill proſecuted with diligence and vigour, and the ſpirit of Richelieu ſeemed ſtill to impel the machine which his genius had firſt ſet in motion. In Germany, the count of Guebriant, and the Swediſh general Tortenſon, triumphed over the imperialiſts; in Piedmont, Lorrain, Rouſſillon, and Catalonia, the mareſchals Schomberg, Meilleraie, l'Hopital, and Houdancourt, in ſucceſſive victories, ſuſtained the glory, and increaſed the dominion of France.

But the ſucceſs of his arms could not check the progreſs

progreſs of diſeaſe; and Lewis was ſenſible that the inevitable moment was rapidly approaching, when his reign and his life muſt terminate together. A ſlow fever inceſſantly hung upon him; and his body exhibited the ſymptoms of gradual but certain decay. The tender years of his ſons expoſed the kingdom once more to thoſe diſſentions which had lately been ſo happily extinguiſhed; and anxious for the welfare of his children and people, he diligently revolved in what hands to place the reigns of government. Anne of Auſtria, the partner of his bed, had never partook of his confidence; and his brother, the duke of Orleans, had forfeited his eſteem by his levity, and incurred his enmity by his ſeditious intrigues.

At length he publiſhed to the world the plan that he had ſecretly meditated; and endeavoured, by diſtributing into different hands the power that he bequeathed, to counterbalance the aſpiring hopes of each, and to ſecure the tranquil minority of the dauphin. The queen indeed was appointed ſole regent, with the care of her children; but the duke of Orleans was declared head of the council, and lieutenant general throughout the kingdom. In caſe of his death this truſt was firſt to be devolved on the prince of Condè, and afterwards on the cardinal Mazarin. Buthillier, ſuper-intendant of the finances, and his ſon Chavigni, were nomi-

nated to the council, in which all affairs were to be decided by a majority of voices. The queen and the duke of Orleans ſwore ſolemnly to preſerve inviolate the deed which they had ſubſcribed; and Lewis, to render it ſtill more authentic, commanded it to be regiſtered in parliament.

He now prepared to meet, with firm compoſure, the laſt ſcene of human greatneſs; when his phyſician, at his earneſt deſire, numbered the fleeting minutes that remained, and pronounced that his life could not exceed two or three hours, he received the intelligence with avowed ſatisfaction, and looking fervently up to heaven, added, "Well! my God, I conſent with all my "heart!" The prediction was verified by the event; and he expired ſoon after, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and on the very day that he had completed the thirty-third of his reign. In eſtimating his character, on ſeveral occaſions his perſonal courage ſhone forth with ſuperior luſtre; but though jealous of his authority, he reluctantly yielded to the aſcendancy of Richelieu; and the epithet of Juſt, which he attained, was frequently impeached by his ſeverity, and ſometimes by his cruelty.

Chapter the Thirty-fourth.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH—REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA—VICTORIES OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE OVER THE SPANIARDS AND IMPERIALISTS—ADMINISTRATION OF MAZARIN—CIVIL WARS—CONQUESTS OF MARESCHAL TURENNE—TREATY OF PYRENEES—REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND—MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF FRANCE—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

THE will of Lewis the Thirteenth, during his life had been continually oppoſed, and after his death it was openly violated; his reſolution of eſtabliſhing a council of regency was inſtantly rejected; and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, by an arret of the parliament of Paris, was inveſted with unlimited powers; ſhe ſoon reſigned herſelf to the influence of cardinal A. D. 1643.

Mazarin, a native of the little town of Piſcina, in the Abruzzo; his political knowledge and addreſs had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu, and he now acquired that aſcendancy over the mind of his royal miſtreſs, as Richelieu had maintained over her deceaſed conſort.

Lewis the Fourteenth, the luſtre of whoſe reign afterwards attached to his name the envied appellation of *Great*, had not yet completed his fifth year, and the kingdom was left involved in a bloody and extenſive war with the houſe of Auſtria; but the ſituation of Europe was favourable to the deſigns of France. The kingdom of Portugal had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and eſtabliſhed the duke of Braganza, as John the Fourth, on the throne; the Catalans ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt; the united provinces had been cheriſhed and protected by Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Thirteenth; the ſceptre of Sweden was in the hands of Chriſtina, the celebrated, but eccentric daughter of the great Guſtavus, and her generals ſtill maintained in war the glory of their country; while, in England, Charles the Firſt, inheriting from his father his fatal and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, had already kindled the flame of civil war throughout that iſland.

Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Enguien, ſon to the prince of Condè, had been appointed to the command

mand of the French forces on the frontiers of Flanders, previous to the death of Lewis the Thirteenth; on intelligence of that event, he determined to attack the army of Spain, engaged in the ſiege of Rocroi; the remonſtrances of mareſchal de l'Hopital were overborne by his ardour; and in the execution of his deſign, the fire of youth was united with ſkill and judgment, ſcarce to be found in age. The Spaniſh infantry, till then deemed invincible, was broken by his impetuous charge; the count of Fuentes, who commanded it, periſhed on the field; nine thouſand ſlaughtered enemies, and twenty pieces of cannon, atteſted the deciſive victory of France, and uſhered in the dawning glory of her general.

Thionville, on the banks of the Moſelle, had excited the deſires, and awed the aſpiring genius of Richelieu; it now yielded to the arms of the duke of Enguien, who rapidly traverſed the Rhine, and advanced to avenge the death of the count of Guebriant, who had glorioufly fallen in the ſucceſsful ſiege of Rotwil. The imperialiſts had availed themſelves of the fate of that general, and the diſſentions of his ſucceſſors in command, by the total defeat of the French near Tudelingen; but this diſgrace was effaced by the valour and ſkill of the duke of Enguien, who attacked and forced the imperial army

A. D. 1643. 1644.

army under the walls of Fribourg; General Merci, though vanquiſhed, ſtill maintained his reputation, and, by his retreat, extorted the admiration of his adverſary; who ſwept with his victorious troops Philipſburgh and Mentz, Worms and Oppenheim, with the forts along the courſe of the Rhine.

A. D. 1645. 1646. In Flanders, the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Coutrai; but the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt was defeated in Catalonia; and the victory of Tortenſon, the Swediſh general, over the imperialiſts at Tabor, was more than balanced by the ſurpriſe of mareſchal Turenne at Mariendal; this diſgrace, the greateſt that ever befel that celebrated commander, ſummoned once more the duke of Enguien to the frontiers of Germany. The laurels which Merei had ſo lately acquired, were torn from his brow in the plains of Nordlingen; but the indignant hero ſcorned to ſurvive defeat, and he obtained a glorious death, which even the victor could not but envy; three thouſand imperialiſts periſhed on the field with their general; two thouſand acknowledged, in captivity, the ſuperior fortune of the duke of Enguien; who, after adding Dunkirk to the dominions of France, returned to the capital to reſtore his health ſhaken by fatigues, and to meditate new triumphs.

But

But his ſplendid career of glory, inſtead of exciting the gratitude, had awakened the jealouſy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia with a feeble and ill-provided army. The death of his father had devolved on him the title of prince of Condè, and the admiration of the public annexed to it the epithet of *Great*; but his ſlender force allowed him not on that theatre to rival his former actions; and he was compelled to retire from the walls of Lerida, which had been ſucceſſively and ineffectually aſſaulted by the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, and the count of Grammont. A. D. 1647.

Naples had revolted againſt the authority of Spain, and was long defended by the duke of Guiſe, the laſt prince of that branch of Lorrain, and who was inferior to his anceſtors in fortune alone. In Germany the mareſchal Turenne, in conjunction with the Swedes, defeated the imperial generals Melander and Montecuculli; his ſucceſs influenced Spain to acknowledge the united provinces as free and independent ſtates; and by a ſecond treaty ſubſcribed at Munſter, the emperor, alarmed at the progreſs of the Swedes, who had inſulted and plundered part of Prague, conſented to purchaſe peace by ceding to France the biſhoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; A. D. 1647. 1648.

dun, with his pretenſions to Pignerol, Briſac, and Alſace; he permitted that crown alſo to retain a garriſon in Philipſburg, and Pomerania, conceſſions ſtill more liberal and important.

A. D. 1648. Philip the Fourth, by his treaty with the Dutch, had deprived France of an important ally, and had delivered himſelf from a ſtubborn and perſevering enemy. He now renewed, with increaſe of vigour, his operations in Flanders, where the prince of Condè had reſumed the command. That general inveſted and reduced Ypres; and the archduke Leopold, to balance this acquiſition, aſſaulted and carried Coutrai, poſſeſſed himſelf of Furnes, and laid ſiege to Lens; to the relief of that place the prince of Condè advanced, and had the mortification of beholding it ſurrendered in his view. But this tranſient diſgrace was effaced by a victory the moſt ſplendid and deciſive; "My "friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and "Nordlingen," was his ſhort but animating addreſs; and the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards were broken by the charge of a hero, and the enthuſiaſtic confidence of his followers; five thouſand periſhed on the field, three thouſand became priſoners, and the archduke himſelf with difficulty eſcaped the purſuit of the victors.

But

But while France triumphed in her own ſucceſſes and thoſe of her allies, the moment approached, doomed to ſhake her power and glory to the foundation by the rage of contending factions. Though Mazarin had affected moderation in his conduct, and baniſhed that pomp in which Richelieu had involved himſelf, yet his adminiſtration was far from acceptable to the public. As a foreigner, they regarded him with jealouſy; and the taxes that the profuſion or the neceſſities of the government compelled him to impoſe, converted that paſſion into hatred. The parliament of Paris refuſed to regiſter the edicts for the new impoſts; and the court, to inforce its authority, arreſted Blancmenil, the preſident, and the counſellor Brouſſel; this violent ſtep was the ſignal of inſtant ſedition. The barricadoes of the league were immediately revived; all Paris was in arms; and the ſafety of the queen was only to be ſecured by the releaſe of the priſoners.

But the regent and her miniſter A. D. 1649.
nouriſhed in their boſoms a lively reſentment of the inſult; from the caprice and fury of a ſeditious multitude, they eſcaped with the infant king to the royal reſidence of Saint Germains; they were accompanied by the duke of Orleans; and the queen ſoon ſummoned to her defence the victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen,

lingen, and Lens. The adverſe faction, who aſſumed the name of the *Fronde*, and maintained poſſeſſion of the capital, were inſpired by the genius and intriguing ſpirit of the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal of Retz, who, with the habit of a prieſt, diſplayed a diſpoſition ſuited to camps and courts; and licentious in his manners and profligate in his morals, acquired an aſcendancy over the minds of the people, without condeſcending to throw a veil over his vices, or employing the popular pretext of religion.

Ardent in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, the parliament ſoon eſtabliſhed a revenue for the ſupport of the war; and the citizens with pleaſure, deluded by the name of freedom, ſubmitted to taxes far more burthenſome than thoſe that had excited their clamours; the prince of Conti, envious of the fame of his brother the prince of Condè, with the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the parliament. Troops were levied with diligence; and the coadjutor himſelf raiſed a regiment, which from his titular archbiſhopric was called the regiment of Corinth; the zeal of the Pariſians laviſhly ſupplied them with money, the ſinews of war; while the royaliſts experienced the ſevereſt diſtreſs, and the queen was reduced to

pledge

pledge the jewels of the crown to alleviate the neceſſities of her court.

But that court was ſtill formidable from the renown and abilities of the prince of Condè; with an army of ſcarce eight thouſand ſoldiers, he blocked up a city that contained five hundred thouſand citizens; and though the mareſchal Turenne was allured by the charms of the ducheſs of Longueville to embrace the oppoſite party, yet his military talents but little availed him, when only ſeconded by an undiſciplined rabble. At length the leaders on each ſide obtained the particular objects of their avarice or ambition; the public good was buried in ſtudied ſilence; the ſtorm for a moment was huſhed; and the court returned to the deſerted capital.

The tempeſt of civil diſcord which had been felt in France, afflicted England with uncommon violence; that iſland preſented a new and ſolemn ſpectacle; a ſovereign was arraigned before the tribunal of his ſubjects; and the unhappy Charles was condemned to atone with his life for the violation of the laws of his country. He expired on a ſcaffold; his children were driven into exile; and a ſucceſsful uſurper, erecting himſelf on the ruins of the conſtitution under the title of protector, ruled England with abſolute ſway.

But

A. D. 1650. 1651. But in France, the enthuſiaſtic flame of freedom, which had glowed in the boſoms of the Engliſh, was ſtill unknown; that people indeed again reſumed their arms, and turned their ſwords againſt each other; but the chiefs not unfrequently ranged themſelves under the banner of ſome celebrated beauty; and the prince of Condè, and the coadjutor de Retz, as caprice or intereſt dictated, perſecuted or ſupported the cardinal Mazarin. The court alternately abdicated or occupied the capital; and the princes of Condè and Conti, with the duke of Longueville, were at length the victims of their adverſaries artifices; they were ſuddenly arreſted, and conveyed to the caſtle of Vincennes; the giddy populace, who had regarded their fate with indifference, in leſs than a year vented their diſcontent in loud and opprobrious clamours; and Mazarin, who had cauſed their impriſonment, was reduced to releaſe them in perſon, and to ſeek ſhelter himſelf in baniſhment from the rage of the multitude.

During theſe convulſions of the ſtate, Lewis the fourteenth had attained the age fixed for his aſſuming the reigns of government, and his majority was ſolemnly declared in parliament; but he was ſtill influenced by the counſels of his mother, and ſeemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin.

Mazarin. The prince of Condè, ſenſible of the implacable reſentment of the queen, quitted Paris to arm in his ſupport the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou; and to ally himſelf with the very Spaniards, on whoſe defeat he had founded his martial glory; while the cardinal, at the head of an army levied at his own expence and devoted to his ſervice, reſumed his former ſtation, and menaced the deſtruction of his enemies.

The parliament ſtill regarded that miniſter with peculiar deteſtation, and even publicly fixed a price on his head; but with an inconſiſtency which characteriſed their proceedings, they alſo declared the prince of Condè an enemy to the ſtate. While they exhorted the forces that the duke of Orleans had raiſed to march againſt the former, they ſtrictly prohibited any part of the public revenue from being diverted to their ſubſiſtence; their reſolutions had at length fallen into contempt, and the rival factions diſdaining their mediation, prepared to terminate their differences by the ſword. Condè, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field againſt the king; and the mareſchal Turenne, who had returned to his allegiance, avowed himſelf the champion of the court.

Near the banks of the Loire the hoſtile armies

regarded with a jealous eye each others motions; when the prince, who had traverſed in diſguiſe, and through the poſts of his adverſaries, the extent of country from Agen to the foreſt of Orleans, joined his forces, and immediately prepared to improve the confidence and boldneſs with which his preſence had inſpired them. He attacked that diviſion of the royal army which was poſted at Bleneau, under the command of the mareſchal d'Hocquincourt, and in a moment their ranks were broken by his impetuous charge. The panic in an inſtant communicated itſelf from the camp to the court; and the miniſter propoſed to ſave the king by flight, and convey him privately to Bourges. But this diſgraceful expedient was averted by the ſkill and conſtancy of the mareſchal Turenne. With the remnant of his army he availed himſelf of every favourable inequality of ground, reſtored the ſinking ſpirits of the great, and confirmed in their allegiance the wavering multitude; Paris indeed received the victor with loud acclamations; but his popularity was tranſient; the coadjutor, now become cardinal of Retz, no longer the idol of the people, governed with abſolute ſway the mind of the duke of Orleans, and ſtimulated that prince to offer himſelf to the citizens as the competitor of Condè. The commanding genius that diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed the latter in the field, could ill ſtoop to the cabals of a faction; the duke of Lorrain, who had promiſed to join his arms, was bribed to deſert his cauſe by Mazarin; his troops were already enervated by the pleaſures of the capital; and with ſecret ſatisfaction he liſtened to the approach of Turenne, whoſe appearance again ſummoned him to the proper theatre of his glory.

In the ſuburbs of Saint Antoine the martial train of the prince was encompaſſed and oppreſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the royaliſts. From a neighbouring eminence the king beheld the unequal conflict in which the blood of his nobleſt ſubjects was ſhed; but the citizens of Paris affected to maintain a perfect neutrality, and ſhut their gates againſt each party; the duke of Orleans, with the cardinal de Retz, ſecluded himſelf in his palace of Luxembourg; when at length mademoiſelle, the daughter of that prince, taking the part of Condè, whom her father dared not aſſiſt, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldneſs to fire the cannon of the Baſtile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; but mademoiſelle ruined herſelf for ever with the king her couſin, by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great deſire ſhe had to eſpouſe a crowned

head, obſerved upon this occaſion that, "thoſe "cannon had killed her huſband."

A. D. 1652. Soon after this action the prince of Condè retired from a capital diſguſted by his violence and haughty demeanor. The parliament declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant general of the kingdom, and ſtill breathed the ſame ſpirit of animoſity towards Mazarin. The court, weary of their inceſſant labours, conſented in appearance to give up that miniſter; he was commanded to retire to Bouillon; and no ſooner was the intelligence of his exile conveyed to Paris, than the citizens of their own accord ſent deputies to invite the king to return to that city; he entered it amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants, and by the ſudden turn of popular favour beheld himſelf firmly ſeated on his throne. The firſt exerciſe of his authority was to baniſh the duke of Orleans to Blois, who there cloſed the remnant of an inglorious life. The cardinal de Retz was alſo arreſted, and conveyed from priſon to priſon; while the prince of Condè, preſſed by the mareſchal Turenne, abandoned in France by almoſt all his partizans, and feebly ſupported by the Spaniards, waged an unſucceſsful war on the frontiers of Champagne.

The

The calm which the kingdom enjoyed, had been the reſult of the baniſhment of Mazarin. Yet ſcarcely was he expelled by the general voice of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king; and to his infinite ſurpriſe entered Paris once more in full power, and without the leaſt diſturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a maſter; but the cardinal, amidſt the ſatisfaction of this change, could not repreſs his contempt of the national levity. The parliament, who had before ſat a price upon his head as a public robber, now ſent deputies to compliment him; and ſoon after paſſed ſentence of death for contumacy on the prince of Condè, whom ſo lately they had honoured as their ally, and even declared general of their forces. A. D. 1653.

The miniſter applied himſelf with vigour to extinguiſh the ſparks of revolt. In Burgundy, Bellegarde was defended for the prince of Condè, by the count of Bouteville, afterwards ſo celebrated as mareſchal Luxemburgh. It was attacked with rival ardour by the duke d'Epernon, at the head of a royal army; yet the governor conſented not to ſurrender till a practicable breach was made, and then obtained honourable conditions. Brouage and Oleron were purchaſed

from the count of Oignon; the prince of Conti, and the ducheſs of Longueville capitulated in Bourdeaux; and the garriſon under the command of the count of Marſin was permitted to march out to join the prince of Condè.

A. D. 1654. That prince, in conjunction with the arch-duke on the ſide of the Netherlands, laid ſiege to Arras; but mareſchal Turenne, after poſſeſſing himſelf of Stenai, advanced to the relief of the former town, and forced the lines of the beſiegers; the Spaniards were routed with bloody ſlaughter; but the prince of Condè ſtill maintained the honour of his name amidſt defeat. With two regiments alone he protected the fugitives, and repulſed mareſchal d'Hocquincourt; the king of Spain acknowledged his ſervices in a ſhort and expreſſive letter; "I have "heard that all was loſt, and that you ſaved all."

The power of the miniſter each day increaſed; the prince of Conti ſought his alliance, and obtained the hand of his niece; and the cabals of the parliament were broken by the reſolution of Lewis. England, whom moſt he dreaded, was ruled by Cromwell, under the title of protector; and who, after humbling the pride of Holland, meditated to deſpoil Spain of her tranſmarine poſſeſſions; while in Sweden, the celebrated queen Chriſtina reſigned her throne to her couſin Charles Guſtavus,

Guſtavus, and ſought in the ſhade of private life, that happineſs which her turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition would never permit her to enjoy.

Landreci and Queſnoi were reduced by the mareſchal Turenne, and a road was opened by theſe acquiſitions into the Spaniſh Netherlands. The king in perſon beheld the ſucceſsful ſiege of Saint Guillain; and the Spaniards were compelled by the marquis of Merinville to retire from the walls of Solſonna. Their fleet was defeated before Barcelona, by that of France, commanded by the duke of Vendoſme. But even theſe ſucceſſes afforded not that ſatisfaction to Mazarin, as the treaty he ſoon after concluded with the protector of England. A. D. 1655.

That great and proſperous uſurper was equally courted and dreaded by all Europe; yet his political judgment has been impeached by poſterity, when he prefered the alliance of France to that of Spain. But Lewis purchaſed the friendſhip of his new ally by a conceſſion the moſt ignominious, which the magnanimity of his maturer years would have diſdained, and which muſt ſolely be imputed to the more ſubtle, but leſs honourable, policy of his Italian miniſter. Charles the Second, and his brother the duke of York, both ſons to the late king of England, who had expired on the ſcaffold, and conſequently the

grandſons of Henry the Fourth of France, were compelled, at the imperious voice of Cromwell, to quit that kingdom, and to ſeek an aſylum in the dominions of Spain.

A. D. 1656. But if the honour of France ſuffered ſome diminution in thus withdrawing her protection from the unfortunate, the advantage to her arms was brilliant and important. Mareſchal Turenne, with the mareſchal de la Forte, had inveſted Valenciennes, and experienced the ſame reverſe of fortune as had befallen Condè before Arras. That prince, ſeconded by don John of Auſtria, forced the mareſchal de la Forte's lines, took him priſoner, and relieved Valenciennes. Turenne performed what Condè had done before on a ſimilar defeat; he ſaved the routed army, made head every where againſt the victors, and in leſs than a month afterwards laid ſiege to and carried the town of la Capelle.

A. D. 1657. But the treaty with England aſſured Turenne of a decided ſuperiority; Cromwell engaged to ſend ſix thouſand infantry into Flanders, on condition that the French ſhould attempt the reduction of Mardyke, Gravelines, or Dunkirk, all of which had been recovered by Spain during the late civil commotions, and deliver into his hands which ever place was ſooneſt taken;

taken; but while the mareſchal awaited the arrival of this reinforcement, he endeavoured by ſurpriſe to make himſelf maſter of Cambrai; he had ſcarce encompaſſed the walls, when the prince of Condè, at the head of two thouſand horſe, penetrated through the army of the beſiegers, and having routed every thing that attempted to ſtop him, threw himſelf into the town. The mareſchal no longer perſiſted in the hopeleſs enterpriſe, but directed his march toward St. Quintin to meet the Engliſh auxiliaries; ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, he ſucceſſively reduced Montmedi and St. Venant, raiſed the ſiege of Ardres, and concluded the campaign with the taking of Mardyke, which, according to the late treaty, was delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

Early in the ſpring the armies reſumed their hoſtile operations, which had been ſuſpended by the inclemency of the winter. The remonſtrances of Cromwell commanded the acquieſcence of Mazarin; and Turenne was ordered to inveſt the town of Dunkirk. The port was already blocked up by an Engliſh ſquadron, and ſix thouſand of the infantry of that nation joined the French camp. The prince of Condè and Don John of Auſtria aſſembled all their forces, and preſented themſelves before the city, A. D. 1658.

city, to raiſe the ſiege. Turenne quitted his lines to encounter the enemy; and the prince of Condè, who was not allowed the diſpoſition of that day, turned to the Engliſh duke of Glouceſter, who had accompanied him, and aſked him, if he had ever ſeen a battle loſt; the reply was in the negative; "then," ſaid the prince, "you will ſee "one now." The event juſtified his diſcernment. The French and Engliſh charged with rival valour; the Spaniards were broken on every ſide; and the prince of Condè, who had diſplayed in the battle the moſt heroic courage, preſerved the ſame undaunted countenance in defeat; the troops under his immediate command were ſtill formidable, and effected their retreat in tolerable order; but the reſt of the Spaniſh army was chaced to the gates of Furnes, and above nine thouſand of the veteran ſoldiers of Spain are ſuppoſed to have fallen in the action and purſuit.

Dunkirk, though now deſtitute of the moſt diſtant hope of ſuccour, ſtill rejected the ſummons of Turenne, and ſurrendered not till ten days after the battle; the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and Lewis entered in triumph the proſtrate city; but he was ſoon compelled to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador; and the reluctance of Mazarin was

vanquiſhed

vanquiſhed by the reſolution and menaces of the Protector of England.

This was the laſt and moſt important acquiſition of that great and ſucceſsful uſurper, who, without any eminent qualities of body, or ſhining talents of mind, without fortune or illuſtrious birth, ſubverted one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world; brought to trial and executed his ſovereign; compelled the royal family to ſeek their ſafety in exile; and reduced to ſubjection three powerful and diſcontented nations. In the laſt moments the illuſions of fanaticiſm, which had been ſo conſpicuous in his infant grandeur, ſtill prevailed; and he rejected the fatal predictions of his phyſicians, while his chaplains buoyed up his hopes with the aſſurances of a longer exiſtence. His dying breath bequeathed his power to his eldeſt ſon, Richard, who immediately aſſumed the title of Protector, and was acknowledged by the court of France.

Mareſchal Turenne, on the ſurrender of Dunkirk, turned his arms againſt Furnes and Dixmude; theſe ſoon yielded to his victorious aſſaults; the Spaniſh forces, divided in garriſon towns, would probably have been ſwept away by the torrent of his fortune, had not his career been checked by the indiſpoſition of his ſovereign; but

no

no ſooner was the health of Lewis reſtored, than thoſe intrigues which had already agitated the court, vaniſhed into air, and Turenne was permitted to ſwell the long liſt of his conqueſts; Oudenarde and Menin opened their gates after a faint reſiſtance; the mareſchal de la Forte was detached to inveſt Gravelines, and Turenne himſelf covered with his army the operations of the ſiege. The colours of France were ſoon diſplayed from the walls; the prince of Ligne was encountered and routed by the rival of Condè; and Ypres ſubmitted to the victor, and received a French garriſon.

In Italy the current of ſucceſs flowed, though not with equal rapidity, in favour of France. The duke of Mantua, who endeavoured to ſtem the tide as the ally of Spain, was happy in being admitted to a neutrality. Trin, in the Marquiſate of Montferrat, was taken by the marquis of Villa; and Mortare, in the Milaneſe, ſurrendered to the duke of Modena, who ſurvived his conqueſt but a few days.

Ferdinand, the third emperor of Germany, had, during the various events of war, ſunk into the grave; and the ambition of Mazarin aſpired to place the imperial crown on the head of Lewis. The mareſchal Grammont was diſpatched for this purpoſe to the diet; but the cardinal was

ſoon

ſoon convinced of the futility of his chimerical expectations. After an interval of above a year, the electors raiſed to the throne Leopold, the ſon of the late emperor; but the policy of France embraced the opportunity to confirm the treaty of Munſter, and to attach to her intereſt ſeveral of the independent princes of Germany.

The rigour of winter, which had ſuſpended the hoſtile enterpriſes of A. D. 1659. the crowns of Spain and France, had revived in the breaſts of their reſpective miniſters the deſire of peace. The ſucceſs of Turenne in the Spaniſh Netherlands had alarmed the former; and Mazarin was intent on ſecuring the tranquillity of the people by the marriage of the king. It has been aſſerted, that from the affection of Lewis to the niece of the cardinal, he had at one time raiſed his hopes to a royal alliance; but the haughty ſpirit of the queen-mother ſoon extinguiſhed the vain idea, and the daughter of the king of Spain and the princeſs of Savoy next preſented themſelves to his view; he therefore liſtened with pleaſure to the pacific overtures of Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Philip the Fourth with the ſame abſolute authority as he himſelf ruled Lewis.

A ceſſation of arms was immediately agreed upon; and in the Iſle of Pheaſants, on the frontiers

tiers of the two kingdoms, Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro appeared as the repreſentatives of their reſpective ſovereigns. A conſiderable time was conſumed in diſputes about precedency; but the Spaniard maintained his equality, and refuſed to yield to the dignity of the cardinal, or to the ſuperior pretenſions of France; their conferences were at length begun, and after four months, were concluded by the celebrated treaty of Pyrenees. By this treaty Lewis was to receive the hand of the infanta with five hundred thouſand gold crowns; Alſace and Rouſſillon were confirmed to him; but he ſolemnly renounced every ſucceſſion that might accrue to him in right of his ſpouſe; and to Charles the Fourth he reſtored the duchy of Lorrain; to Spain the cities of St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde; and he conſented to pardon the prince of Condè. Philip, on his ſide, extended alſo his clemency to the revolted Catalans; relinquiſhed Verceil to the duke of Savoy; Reggio to the duke of Modena; his whole territories to the duke of Monaco; and to the duke of Newburgh the city of Juliers, which for ſeveral years paſt had been ſequeſtered in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria.

A. D. 1659. Charles of England had preſented
1660. himſelf at the Pyrenees to implore the aſſiſtance of the cardinal and don Lewis de

Haro; the former refuſed even to ſee him, and pleaded the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth; but the latter received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation. Even the offer of Charles to marry the niece of the cardinal was rejected with cold politeneſs. The condition of that monarch to all the world ſeemed deſperate; his friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice; the ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of his moſt active adherents; their ſpirits were broken by tedious impriſonments; their eſtates were overwhelmed by fines and confiſcations. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurpriſing revolution, brought that about which the miniſters of France and Spain might have had the honour of undertaking. Richard Cromwell, of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition, was incapable of maintaining his dominion by ſanguinary meaſures; he ſigned his own diſmiſſion; and with a moderate fortune extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age. The committee of ſafety, who had uſurped the authority that he had abdicated, were hated and deſpiſed; they were reluctantly compelled to reſtore the parliament which they had diſſolved; the nation, wearied by contending factions, impatiently looked to the reſtoration of the ancient con-

conſtitution; their wiſhes were ſeconded by the loyal declarations of general Monk, who, with the government of Scotland, commanded an affectionate and well-diſciplined army. Charles was invited to mount the throne of his anceſtors; he landed at Dover; took poſſeſſion of his kingdom without the effuſion of blood, and entered his capital amidſt the unanimous acclamations of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1660. The duke of Orleans, the uncle of Lewis, had expired at Blois, but little noticed, and not all regretted; his death did not interrupt the preparations for the marriage of the king of France: that monarch advanced to Saint Jean de Luz to receive the hand of his bride; the royal pair returned to Paris, and in their triumphal entry into that city diſplayed a magnificence before unknown; but though on this occaſion the cardinal indulged the national taſte for ſplendour, in every other reſpect he narrowly circumſcribed the expences of the king, and Lewis was often reduced to requeſt the loan of that wealth, with which the coffers of his miniſter overflowed.

A. D. 1661. In the ſilent acquiſition of riches, the cardinal had now reached the period which permitted him no longer to enjoy them. The treaty of Vincennes with the duke of

of Lorrain, and which, in ſome meaſure towards that prince, ſoftened that of Pyrenees, was the laſt act of his adminiſtration; nine days afterwards he expired; and his concern for his wealth was ſtill apparent in the laſt moments of his life. By a deed of gift he reſigned his riches to the king, and his diſcernment was juſtified by the magnanimity of Lewis, who immediately reſtored the inſtrument. Though perhaps that monarch but little regretted the loſs of a miniſter, whoſe yoke ſate heavy on his ſhoulders, yet early taught to diſſemble, he aſſumed the external marks of ſorrow, and even honoured his memory by the compliment of wearing mourning.

The adminiſtration and talents of Mazarin have been compared with thoſe of Richelieu; but thoſe commanding features which diſtinguiſhed the latter, are in vain to be ſought for in the former. Prudent, ſubtle, and avaricious, he rather endeavoured to ſooth than to command; to deceive than to vanquiſh; and the love of glory, either exiſted not in his boſom, or was loſt in his inſatiate thirſt of gold. That immenſe hoard was ſoon afterwards diſſipated by the follies and prodigality of the marquis of Meilleraie, who had eſpouſed his favourite daughter Hortenſia Mancini, and aſſumed the title of duke of Mazarin; while Hor-

tenſia herſelf, baniſhed from the bed and country of her huſband, long ſubſiſted in England on a penſion allowed her by the liberality of Charles the Second.

Chapter

Chapter the Thirty-fifth.

LEWIS ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT—ACQUIRES DUNKIRK—CLAIMS THE SUCCESSION OF FLANDERS—WAR WITH SPAIN—PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE—INVASION OF HOLLAND—ACQUISITION OF FRANCHE COMTE—VICTORIES AND DEATH OF TURENNE—PEACE OF NIMEGUEN—WAR RESUMED WITH SPAIN, AND TERMINATED BY THE TRUCE OF RATISBON—LEAGUE AGAINST FRANCE—REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND—WAR IN FLANDERS, GERMANY, SPAIN, AND ITALY—PEACE OF RYSWICK.

ON the death of Mazarin, Lewis the Fourteenth prepared to throw off A.D. 1661. thoſe ſhackles which the aſcendancy of the miniſter had impoſed, and hereafter to aſſume not only the enſigns of royalty, but the duties of a king. The officers of ſtate, who little expected that a

young prince only in his twenty-third year, would limit the purſuit of his pleaſures, to ſuſtain the toils of government, impatiently enquired whom they were to apply to? They were equally ſurpriſed and diſappointed, when Lewis anſwered, "to "me;" their aſtoniſhment ſtill increaſed, when they found him perſevere. He had conſulted his own ſtrength, and made a trial in ſecret of his capacity for government; his reſolution once taken, he maintained it to the laſt moment of his life; he appointed bounds to the power of every miniſter; obliged him to give an account of every thing at certain hours; reſtored order to the finances, and eſtabliſhed diſcipline among the troops.

In his tranſactions with foreign ſtates, he aſſerted the dignity of his crown with jealous vigilance; the ambaſſador of Spain at the court of London, had on a public entry diſputed the way with that of France; but the firm remonſtrances of Lewis extorted from Philip ample ſatisfaction; and the Spaniſh monarch diſpatched the count of Fuentes with the important conceſſion, "that the "miniſters of Spain ſhould no longer diſpute the "precedency with thoſe of France." With the court of Rome he diſplayed equal firmneſs. His ambaſſador, the duke of Crequi, had been inſulted, and even his carriage fired into by the guards of that city; the king menaced to avenge the

the affront by arms; and he compelled Alexander the Seventh, the Roman pontiff, to ſatisfy his honour, by erecting a pillar in Rome, expreſſing the injury and reparation.

The ſatisfaction that he derived from theſe events was increaſed by A. D. 1661. 1667. the birth of a ſon; and the ſecurity of his kingdom was augmented by the purchaſe of Dunkirk. Charles the Second, whoſe adverſity had not taught him œconomy, was reduced by his profuſion to part with that important place, and Lewis obtained it at the price of four hundred thouſand pounds. He immediately employed thirty thouſand men to fortify it by land and ſea; and dug a large baſon between the town and the citadel, capable of containing ſeveral men of war. He extorted ſoon after the ſtrong hold of Marſal from the duke of Lorrain. He ſecretly ſupported the crown of Portugal againſt that of Spain; but though the king of England offered to abandon to him all the Spaniſh low countries, provided he would ſuffer him to purſue his advantages over the Dutch, Lewis rejected the propoſal, which would have rendered Charles ſovereign of the ſeas; yet the aſſiſtance he could on that element afford his allies, the Hollanders, was feeble and unworthy of his greatneſs; but his ſuccours by land were more effectual and honourable; and

his arms protected them from the martial and enterprising biſhop of Munſter, whom the gold of England had allured to invade the united provinces.

A. D. 1667. The peace of Breda reconciled the contending powers, but reſtored not for a moment the tranquillity of Europe. The flame of war was kept alive by the pretenſions and ambition of the French monarch. In the ſilent lapſe of ſix years he had repleniſhed his coffers, created a naval force, augmented his armies, and provided large magazines and an immenſe quantity of military ſtores. The two miniſters who principally ſhared his confidence were Colbert and Louvois. The former in the finances, rivalled the fame and abilities of the duke of Sully; the latter firſt diſplayed to Europe the means of ſubſiſting large armies at a diſtance by magazines. The prince of Condè, and the mareſchal Turenne were ſtill in the vigour of their life; and France might juſtly boaſt the proud ſuperiority of her ſtateſmen and her generals.

A. D. 1668. Anne of Auſtria, the queen-mother, who no longer retained her influence over the mind of her ſon, had ſunk unnoticed into the grave; the death of Philip of Spain was an event of more importance; he left a ſon,

Charles

Charles the Second; but the queen of France, the iſſue of a former marriage, laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtom of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage, was preferred to a male of the ſecond; and Lewis, in open violation of his ſolemn renunciation in the treaty of Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate the claim of his conſort by arms.

The king of France with an army of forty thouſand men, directed by Turenne, paid by Colbert, and amply ſupplied by Louvois, burſt into the defenceleſs provinces of Flanders. The towns without magazines, without fortifications, and without garriſons, ſurrendered to Lewis as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them. The banners of France were in an inſtant diſplayed from the walls of Athe, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Charleroy, and Binche; Liſle alone maintained a reſiſtance of nine days, and the king returned to Paris from a campaign, attended by the moſt important acquiſitions, but which in its progreſs rather reſembled a party of pleaſure than an hoſtile expedition.

The reputation which Turenne had acquired in this enterpriſe, awakened A. D. 1669. the honourable jealouſy of the prince of Condè. The inclemency of the ſeaſon could not chill his martial ardour, and in the midſt of winter he pro-

poſed to his ſovereign the invaſion of Franche Comtè. That province, ſituated on the borders of Switzerland, under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria, enjoyed its ancient privileges, and the honourable diſtinction of a parliament; the inhabitants contented, though poor, were awakened from their humble tranquillity by the diſcordant trumpet of war. Beſancon, and Salins, the two ſtrongeſt towns, were inveſted and reduced by the prince of Condè; Lewis haſtened to join his army, and laid ſiege to Dole; in four days that city was compelled to open its gates; and in three weeks the conqueſt of the entire province was completely atchieved.

But the rapid ſucceſs of Lewis had awakened the envy and the fears of his powerful neighbours. A triple league was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, to preſcribe bounds to his ambition. The arbitration of ſo formidable a confederacy could not be rejected. A negociation was immediately commenced, and rapidly concluded. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Lewis retained his acquiſitions in Flanders, but reſtored Franche Comté to Spain; though even by theſe conditions he gained an extenſive territory, fruitful and populous, yet he ever after harboured a deep and implacable reſentment againſt the ſtates of Holland, whoſe deputies had diſ-

played

played the proud and inflexible ſpirit of republicans.

At the moment that monarch ſigned the treaty of peace, he meditated A. D. 1670. new wars, and prepared to ſatiate his revenge; his firſt attention was directed to create a naval force; and his orders were executed by the indefatigable induſtry of Colbert and Louvois. The ſea-ports, which had almoſt ſunk into ruins, again erected their heads, were fortified with works which at once ſerved for their ornament and defence, and were filled with ſixty large men of war ready equipped for ſea. The next object of his councils was to detach the king of England from his alliance with Holland. His brother the duke of Orleans had married the ſiſter of Charles, and the influence of that princeſs was exerted over the mind of the Engliſh monarch; the neceſſities of Charles ſeconded her arts; the ſums that his profuſion demanded, and his parliament denied, were ſupplied by Lewis; and the king of England was prevailed upon to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to ſign engagements for the deſtruction of Holland, with whom he had ſo lately united himſelf to repreſs the ambition of France.

The ſudden death of the ducheſs of A. D. 1670. 1671. Orleans, who had negociated this alliance,

liance, and whoſe fate was accompanied with ſuſpicions of poiſon, threw a gloom over the courts, but did not impede the preparations of the confederate monarchs. The liberality of Lewis extended itſelf to Sweden, and Charles the Eleventh ſubſcribed the new league; while the biſhop of Munſter, greedy of war and plunder, and naturally an enemy of the Dutch, readily concurred in the meaſures concerted for their deſtruction.

But if the alliances and armaments of Charles and Lewis were formidable, the pretences they aſſigned for their hoſtile deſigns were frivolous and contemptible. The former complained that the cuſtomary honours had been refuſed to the Engliſh flag, and that pictures injurious to the reputation of the Engliſh had been encouraged; the latter maintained greater dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice can merit that appellation; he pretended that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear. A. D. 1672.

At the moment that the United Provinces were menaced by ſuch powerful enemies, they could derive but little ſatisfaction from the review of their domeſtic ſituation. Two factions at that time agitated the republic. The one headed by John de Wit, grand penſionary, a man equally

eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity, but who regarded with jealouſy the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority; the other leſs attached to the exterior of liberty, deſirous of reſtoring the ſtadtholderſhip, and of inveſting the prince of Orange with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors.

Into this country burſt Lewis the Fourteenth, at the head of an army formidable from its numbers and diſcipline, but ſtill more ſo from the ſkill and experience of Turenne, Condè, Luxemburg, and Vauban. De Wit had expected his attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, and provided that town accordingly; but the king of France taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, invaded the provinces from that quarter. He paſſed the Meuſe at Viſat, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orſoi, reduced in four days Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg; and preſſed forwards to the Rhine. To all the other calamities of the Dutch, was added the extreme drought of the ſeaſon, which diminiſhed the greateſt rivers; the French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, plunged into the ſtream; a few Dutch regiments on the oppoſite bank made but a feeble reſiſtance, and the celebrated paſſage of the Rhine, the ſubject of ſo much panygeric, was atchieved

atchieved without danger, and almoſt without oppoſition.

Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay; and every hour brought intelligence of ſome freſh acquiſition. A liſt of defenceleſs cities that opened their gates on the appearance of an enemy, can afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment to the reader. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in little more than a month three provinces, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht, were in the hands of Lewis; Groningen was threatened; Friezeland lay expoſed; and the only difficulty that preſented itſelf was in Holland and Zealand. Condè and Turenne exhorted the king to diſmantle all the towns that he had taken, except a few, and preſs on to new conqueſts; but Lewis liſtened to the counſels of Louvois, who prevailed on him to ſtrengthen his acquiſitions with new fortifications; a project which, by weakening the main army, proved fatal to his ambitious deſigns.

But at ſea the Dutch maintained their former renown, and engaged with alacrity the combined fleets of two powerful nations. De Ruyter, their admiral, on this occaſion acquired immortal honour, and acknowledged, that of two and thirty

actions

actions which he had beheld, this combat was the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The loſs ſuſtained by the two fleets was nearly equal; the approach of night at length ſuſpended the fury of the combatants; and both retired to their reſpective harbours to repair the damages which they had ſuffered.

But the glory of de Ruyter could not inſpire his countrymen to emulate his conduct by land; the ſtates determined to implore the pity of the combined monarchs; but the conditions that Lewis preſcribed were little better than articles of ſlavery. All the towns on the other ſide of the Rhine were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and ſeveral in the heart of the provinces; the roman catholic religion was every where to be reeſtabliſhed; and a medal was annually to be preſented to the French court, importing that the Hollanders retained their freedom by the moderation of Lewis.

The indignation of the people at terms ſo fatal and diſgraceful, broke out in open and violent ſeditions. Inſtead of arming to meet the haughty conqueror, they diſcharged their rage on their own unhappy miniſter. The unfortunate De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were torn to pieces by the frenzy of the populace; the moſt ſhocking indignities were exerciſed on their diſmembered limbs;

limbs; and the united voice of the people inveſted with the ſole adminiſtration William prince of Orange.

That prince, though only in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, gave ſtrong indications of all thoſe great qualities by which his life was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. The whole tenor of his demeanor ſuited extremely the genius of the people whoſe councils he was called to direct. Silent and thoughtful, he poſſeſſed a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; was firm in his reſolutions, and indefatigable in buſineſs; never ſuffered pleaſure to allure, or danger to intimidate, him. His appointment once more animated the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen; they reſolved, if unable to maintain their freedom in Europe, to fly to their ſettlements in the Indies, and erect a new republic in thoſe remote regions. While, to check the preſent progreſs of the victor, they called to their aſſiſtance that deſtructive element, againſt which they had formerly ſo diligently fortified themſelves; and opening the ſluices, laid the adjacent country under water.

Lewis had made his triumphal entry into Utrecht, but he now quitted a campaign in which the difficulties of war were increaſed, and the hopes of conqueſt were diminiſhed. He returned to his capital to enjoy the acclammations of

of his ſubjects for ſucceſſes which he owed to the merit of his generals, or to the panic of his enemies. But already a confederacy was formed to ſet bounds to his aſpiring ambition. Spain privately aſſiſted, and the emperor openly ſupported, the United Provinces; Luxemburgh was diſappointed in an attempt on the Hague, and the biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from the walls of Groningen.

The enſuing year extended more widely the flames of war. The emperor and Spain openly declared themſelves the allies of the Dutch; and the houſe of Auſtria was now engaged to protect thoſe provinces which during ſo many years ſhe had endeavoured to oppreſs. De Ruyter ſtill maintained his reputation at ſea, and encountered in a ſecond and indeciſive action the combined fleets of France and England. A third that ſoon after enſued, though equally obſtinate and bloody, ſtill left the victory doubtful. But Lewis at the head of a numerous army inveſted, and in a week reduced Maeſtricht. The prince of Orange in return laid ſiege to Naerden; and the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe confirmed the confidence of his countrymen; he immediately after directed his march to join Montecuculli, the imperial general, who on the banks of the Rhine was oppoſed to Turenne; A. D. 1673.

renne; the artful conduct of that commander eluded the penetration of the mareſchal, and he ſuddenly ſat down before Bonne. Under the walls of that city he was joined by the prince of Orange, who with ſimilar addreſs had deceived and eſcaped the vigilance of the French generals. Bonne ſoon ſurrendered to their combined arms; ſeveral other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into their hands; the communication between France and the United Provinces was cut off; and Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and abandon all his conqueſts with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them.

A. D. 1674. The firm remonſtrances of the Engliſh parliament, and the clamours of his people, compelled Charles to conclude a peace with the United Provinces. But while he reluctantly deſerted his ally Lewis, he ſtill inſiſted that ten thouſand men whom he had detached to reinforce the army of that monarch, ſhould not be recalled, though he conſented to bind himſelf by a ſecret article of the treaty never to recruit them. Even this reinforcement, ſmall as it might ſeem, was neceſſary to the various enterpriſes of the French king. The empire, Spain, and Holland, were now firmly united againſt him. The biſhop of Munſter and the elector of Cologne had been compelled to renounce

nounce his alliance; yet he continued to make head every where againſt his enemies, and even meditated new conqueſts. With a powerful army in perſon he again invaded Franche Comtè; laid ſiege to and again carried Beſancon; and in ſix weeks reduced the whole province, which has ever ſince remained annexed to the dominions of France.

In Flanders the allied army was commanded by the prince of Orange, and the French by the prince of Condè. The former, encouraged by his ſuperior numbers, endeavoured to penetrate into France; but in the attempt he raſhly expoſed at Seneffe a wing of his army, and his active adverſary failed not to ſeize and improve the advantage. But the prince of Orange amply compenſated for his error by his behaviour in the obſtinate and bloody action that enſued; he rallied his diſmayed troops, led them to the charge, and puſhed the martial veterans of France. The conflict was continued for ſome time after ſunſet, till darkneſs parted the combatants, and left the victory undecided. But the conduct of William was ſtamped by the applauſe of his generous antagoniſt; "the prince of Orange," ſaid Condè, "has acted in every thing like an old captain, "except venturing his life too like a young ſol-"dier."

In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill which by long experience, profound reflection, and great genius, he had been able to acquire. By a ſudden and forced march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, the general of the imperialiſts, and afterwards extended his bloody devaſtations over the palatinate. Seventy thouſand Germans deluged Alſace; they were ſurpriſed by the unexpected appearance of Turenne; a conſiderable detachment was cut in pieces at Mulhauſen; the elector of Brandenburg, who had been entruſted with the chief command, was routed by the active vigilance of the mareſchal near Colmar; a third body ſuffered the ſame fate at Turkheim; and this formidable hoſt, baffled and diſperſed, was happy to evacuate Alſace and repaſs the Rhine.

A. D. 1675. To oppoſe Turenne, the imperialiſts recalled their celebrated general Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to penetrate into Alſace, Lorrain, or Burgundy; the aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The banks of the Rhine was the theatre on which their ſkill was diſplayed. Each encountered the other with perſeverance, penetration, and activity; but on the moment that they were

were on the point of ſtaking their reputation on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball as he was reconnoitring a ſituation to erect a battery. The news of his fate impreſſed the king, the court, and the people, with the deepeſt ſorrow; but it was in the camp that his loſs was moſt ſeverely felt and ſenſibly regretted. Montecuculli, who had for three months been kept on the other ſide of the Rhine by the abilities of the mareſchal, paſſed that river the moment he heard Turenne was no more; he penetrated into Alſace; and the French, who had lately aſpired to victory, eſteemed themſelves happy in eſcaping defeat, and effecting a retreat under the conduct of de Lorges, nephew to the deceaſed general.

Part of the German army, after the death of Turenne, had formed the ſiege of Treves, and mareſchal Crequi, with the troops that he could aſſemble, advanced to the relief of that place. His negligence expoſed him to a total and bloody defeat; with four attendants only he eſcaped into Treves, and endeavoured by a vigorous defence to efface his diſgrace; but the garriſon at length mutinied againſt his authority; they opened the gates to the enemy; and ſince he refuſed to ſign the capitulation they had made, they delivered him up a priſoner to the imperialiſts.

Lewis in perſon had taken the field in Flanders, and was oppoſed by the prince of Orange with an equal army; each party was unwilling to hazard a general engagement without ſome viſible advantage. The monarch ſoon after returned to Verſailles, and the late diſaſters in Germany induced him to recal the prince of Condè to make head againſt Montecuculli. The prince on this new field confirmed the opinion of his ſuperior genius. He compelled the Germans to raiſe the ſieges of Hagenau and Saverne; he eluded their attempts to force him to a battle; and at length conſtrained them to repaſs the the Rhine. With this campaign he cloſed the long ſeries of his martial toils and glory; the remnant of his life he paſſed in honourable retirement at Chantilly; while Montecuculli, full of years and fame, withdrew at the ſame time from the ſcene of action, unwilling to expoſe that reputation in conteſts with younger adverſaries, which he had acquired as the rival of Condè and Turenne.

A. D. 1676. Though the death of Turenne, and the retreat of Condè, deprived Lewis of two commanders, whoſe military talents have ſeldom been equalled, and never excelled, yet the vigour and diſcipline that they had infuſed into the armies, ſtill continued to open the road to victory.

victory. The Hollanders themſelves ſoon after ſuſtained a loſs which plunged them in the ſame honourable ſorrow as France had lately felt. Meſſina had revolted, and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels; the Dutch ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards; an engagement enſued; and de Ruyter, the Turenne of Holland, received a wound which put an end to his glorious life; the Dutch diſmayed at his death, retired in confuſion; yet the advantage the French obtained was but tranſient; and they were ſoon after reduced to evacuate Meſſina, at the moment that they flattered themſelves with the hope of becoming maſters of it.

In Germany, Charles the Fifth, the new duke of Lorrain, who ſucceeded his uncle Charles the Fourth, and who like him was ſtripped of his dominions, had recovered Philipſburgh; but he vainly endeavoured to penetrate into his own territories; Mareſchal Crequi ranſomed from confinement, and grown more prudent by his defeat, defended the entrance into Lorrain, and in repeated actions baffled and defeated the unfortunate duke.

In Flanders Lewis himſelf early took the field, and provided with ample magazines, began his operations, while the enemy's cavalry were unable to find forage in the open country. The Spaniſh

towns ill fortified, made but a feeble reſiſtance; in the month of April he laid ſiege to Condè, and took it by ſtorm in four days; while the duke of Orleans inveſted Bouchain, he poſted himſelf to ſuch advantage as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting but under great difficulties; the prince of Orange, after ſurmounting a variety of obſtacles, came indeed in ſight of the French army, but his induſtry ſerved only to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine; both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Satisfied with his new acquiſitions, and the glory he had gained, Lewis retired to Verſailles, and entruſted his army to the command of mareſchal Schomberg; on his departure William inveſted Maeſtricht; but Schomberg, who had taken Aire, immediately advanced to the relief of that place, and the prince was compelled reluctantly to retire.

During the various operations of the hoſtile armies, the language of peace had been reſumed, and a congreſs had been eſtabliſhed at Nimeguen under the mediation of the king of England; the Dutch loaded with debts, and haraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to the war. But gratitude to their allies, the emperor

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and the king of Spain, induced them to try the conſequences of another campaign; and the prince of Orange urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

Lewis was alſo ſincerely deſirous of peace; his kingdom was exhauſted by the violent efforts that ſhe had made; but the monarch was conſcious that a good treaty could only be attained by a vigorous war. In February he laid ſiege to Valenciennes, and carried it by ſtorm; he next inveſted Cambray and Saint Omer. The prince of Orange advanced to the relief of the latter place, and was encountered by the French, commanded by the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, and mareſchal Luxemburg. The former concealed beneath the effeminate manners of a woman, a courage the moſt ardent, and the latter had been the conſtant friend and pupil of the great Condè. By a maſterly movement of that general, William was defeated, and compelled to ſeek ſhelter under the walls of Ypres; but Lewis, jealous of his brother's fame, who had ſought glory in the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, liſtened to the victory with ſmall ſigns of external ſatisfaction, and never afterwards entruſted the duke with the chief command. Cam- A. D. 1667.

bray and Saint Omer ſoon ſurrendered, and cloſed the operations of the campaign.

A. D. 1678. Negociations for peace were ſtill continued, and Charles of England having beſtowed the hand of his niece on the prince of Orange, ſeemed ſincerely deſirous of acquieſcing in the wiſhes of his people, and of protecting the provinces. The king of France had taken the field with his uſual readineſs, and had reduced Ypres and Ghent, and the army under Luxemburg had inveſted Mons, when Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaſſador, alarmed at his progreſs, and conſcious of the unſteady councils of England, at Nimeguen ſigned the treaty of peace with the miniſters of France; by this treaty Lewis ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franche Comtè, together with Cambray, Aire, Saint Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caſſel, &c. and agreed to reſtore to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Athe, Ghent, and Leonbourgh; while in the north, his ally the king of Sweden was reinſtated in thoſe dominions of which he had been ſtripped by the joint forces of Denmark and Germany.

The king of Spain and the emperor reluctantly and ſucceſſively ſubſcribed to theſe hard conditions; which were conſidered by the prince of Orange with equal diſguſt. The day after they were

were ſigned he attacked, near Mons, and gained ſome advantage over, Luxemburg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war finiſhed; William had alſo reaſon to believe the peace was ſigned, though not formally notified; and he wantonly ſacrificed the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well conteſted action.

The tempeſt of war which had ſo A. D. 1679.
long agitated Europe, was ſucceeded 1683.
by four years of peace. Lewis, whoſe reſtleſs ambition was ever awake, diligently employed each moment in preparations for future conqueſts; even the treaty that he had ſo lately ſigned at Nimeguen could not ſuſpend his inſatiate thirſt for dominion; by treachery he poſſeſſed himſelf of the imperial city of Straſburgh; he purchaſed Caſal of the duke of Mantua; and diſpoſſeſſed the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves of the lordſhips of Falkemburg, Germaſheim, and Valdentz. Ports and harbours were conſtructed at Breſt and Toulon; the docks were filled with ſhips of war, the army was augmented, and the magazines repleniſhed; while the people enriched by arts and commerce willingly ſubmitted to new impoſts, and cheerfully acquieſced under their burthens.

The death of the queen was an A. D. 1684.
event but little regarded by Lewis, 1687.

who

who already felt that paſſion for madame de Maintenon, which accompanied him through the reſt of his life; he was doubtleſs impreſſed with more real concern at the loſs of Colbert, whoſe ſkill and integrity as a financier had greatly contributed to his conqueſts; that miniſter ſunk into the grave when the ambition of the king had juſt rekindled the flame of war; on pretences the moſt frivolous, Lewis had demanded Aloſt of the Spaniards; and on their refuſal had ſeized on Luxemburg; the indignation of Spain had impelled her to an open declaration of war againſt her haughty enemy; but her own weakneſs, and the ſituation of the other powers of Europe, compelled her to ſign at Ratiſbon a truce for twenty years, which left Lewis in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Luxemburg.

With equal injuſtice that monarch had bombarded Genoa, and reduced the republic to ſue for peace in the moſt abject manner, for having ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; but greater glory accompanied the expeditions againſt Algiers; and thoſe licentious rovers, after beholding the greateſt part of their city reduced to aſhes, ſubmitted to releaſe ſeveral hundreds of chriſtian captives. Yet vanity or intereſt were the ſole motives that actuated the ſovereign of France; and while he braved the ſpiritual cenſures

ſures of the Roman pontiff, and ſtripped that ſee of Avignon, he revoked the edicts of Nantz, revived the perſecution againſt the proteſtants, and drove by his miſtaken policy into exile above five hundred thouſand of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious inhabitants of France.

Lewis diſcovered too late that the characters of a conqueror and perſecutor are incompatible; beſides weakening his own kingdom by the baniſhment of myriads, the melancholy fate of the refugees had inflamed againſt him all the proteſtant nations of Europe. The prince of Orange, who well knew how to avail himſelf of the general indignation, had by his intrigues and influence formed a league at Augſburg, where the whole empire united in its defence againſt the French monarch; Spain and Holland became parties in the ſame alliance; the acceſſion of Savoy was afterwards obtained; and Sweden and Denmark ſeemed to favour the ſame cauſe.

The knowledge of this league had not eſcaped the vigilance of the king of France; and to anticipate the deſigns of the confederates, he had invaded the empire, and laid ſiege to Philipſburg; but his attention was engroſſed by the affairs of England, which every day more plainly pointed to a new revolution. Charles the Second had expired at variance with A. D. 1688.

his

his parliament, and deſpiſed by his people. His brother the duke of York, as James the Second, ſucceeded to the throne; the misfortunes of his father ſerved not to reſtrain the raſh zeal and blind obedience of that prince for the church of Rome. He openly violated the laws of his country, he endeavoured to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion, and compelled his ſubjects to ſeek their ſafety in revolt, and to call to their protection the prince of Orange.

William, who had married the daughter of that monarch whom he was ſummoned to oppoſe, liſtened with pleaſure to ſolicitations which were at once enforced by policy and religion; he diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raiſed conſiderable ſums of money; but Lewis's envoy at the Hague penetrated into the real object of his preparations, and informed his maſter of his diſcovery. The king of France immediately conveyed the intelligence to James; at the ſame time he offered to reinforce the Engliſh fleet with a French ſquadron, to ſend over any number of troops, or to march into the Netherlands and engage the Dutch in the defence of their own country; but theſe propoſals were rejected by the king of England, who dreaded to increaſe the diſaffection of his ſubjects by ſo unpopular an alliance.

At

At length the prince of Orange ſat ſail, and after encountering a violent tempeſt at ſea, landed at Torbay on the coaſt of Devonſhire; he was joined by the principal nobility of the iſland, and the integrity of his enterpriſe was fortified by the appearance of the princeſs Anne, the other daughter of James; that unfortunate prince deſerted by his ſubjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and ſought ſhelter with his infant ſon and queen in France; Lewis received the royal fugitives with every mark of reſpect and aſſurance of ſupport; while the gratitude of the Engliſh placed their crown on the head of the prince of Orange; and that monarch, as William the Third, prepared to aſſert his own dignity, and to vindicate the liberties of Europe.

England and Holland, the two great maritime powers of Europe, the empire and Spain, with the greateſt part of Italy, were now united againſt France; but her monarch ſtill confided in his former fortune, and his enemies acknowledged his preparations were worthy of the important conteſt. Philipſburg was taken; Manheim, Frankendal, Spires, Worms, and Oppenheim, ſurrendered; and the fruitful country of the palatinate was, at the unrelenting voice of Lewis, conſigned to deſtruc- A. D. 1688, 1689.

tion; her towns were reduced to aſhes, her fertile fields became a deſert, and the wretched people, driven from their habitations by the fury of the flames and the brutality of the ſoldiers, were left to periſh by famine and the inclemency of the ſeaſon; ſuch were the means by which the king of France endeavoured to intimidate his enemies and protect his frontier; yet the former were rather exaſperated than vanquiſhed; and the imperial armies, under the duke of Lorrain, reſumed their courage, and covered the important cities of Bonn and Mentz.

A.D. 1689. 1690. But the grand object of Lewis was to reſtore to his dominions the fugitive James; that unhappy prince had ſtill a ſtrong party in Ireland; and the friendſhip of France liberally furniſhed him with arms and ammunition of every kind; a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to ſecond his efforts, and in its courſe encountered the ſquadrons of England and Holland in an indeciſive engagement; he was received into Limeric, and his firſt ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; but his career was checked by the ſkill of the duke of Schomberg; and on the banks of the Boyne he was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior fortune and genius of William. James himſelf abandoned the day with a precipitation unworthy of the crown he aſpired to, and haſtily returned

returned to France; while his ſucceſsful rival, by his valour and conduct, extorted the applauſe of his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his tottering throne; a deſultory war was maintained for ſome time after the flight of James, till Ireland gradually withdrew from the ſupport of a prince who had deſerted her, and ſubmitted to the authority of William.

In Flanders the mareſchal d'Humieres was defeated by the prince of Waldeck, and Lewis, to retrieve this diſaſter, again entruſted his forces in the Netherlands to the mareſchal duke of Luxemburgh. In the plains of Fleurus, near Charleroi, that general avenged the injured glory of his country; the prince of Waldeck was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand killed and eight thouſand taken priſoners; yet the victor acknowledged the gallantry of the vanquiſhed; "Prince "Waldeck," ſaid he, "ought always to remem-"ber the French cavalry; and I ſhall never for-"get the Dutch infantry."

In the enſuing campaign Lewis himſelf was preſent at the ſiege of Mons; and retired, after the ſurrender of that city, to Verſailles; while William, who had haſtened from Ireland to oppoſe mareſchal Luxemburgh, concluded the campaign finiſhed, and repaired to the Hague; the mareſchal embraced A. D. 1691.

the moment of his abſence, and by a forced march ſurpriſed and routed the rear of the confederates commanded by the prince of Waldeck.

On the frontiers of Germany, and in Spain, a feeble and deſultory war was carried on with various ſucceſs; but in Piedmont, Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a prince brave, penetrating, and active, was oppoſed by the mareſchal Catinat, who had relinquiſhed the early ſtudy of the law for the more glorious profeſſion of arms; and who amidſt camps cultivated the maxims of philoſophy. At Saluces he triumphed over the duke of Savoy in a bloody and obſtinate encounter; and the conqueror ſoon reduced to the authority of Lewis the greateſt part of Savoy and Piedmont.

A. D. 1692. In two engagements the fleet of France had at leaſt maintained an equality with thoſe of England and Holland; and Lewis, ſtill anxious to reſtore the ſhattered fortunes of James, determined to hazard a general action, and, if victorious, to invade England. The hoſtile fleets met in the channel near Cape la Hogue, and Tourville, the French admiral, obeyed the orders of his ſovereign; but the ſuperior numbers of the confederates ſoon decided the fate of the day. The French admiral's own ſhip, with twenty more of the largeſt veſſels of his fleet, were deſtroyed by the fire of the victors; and

and James, with a ſigh of deſpair, beheld, from a neighbouring eminence, the gloomy flame which for ever blaſted the fond expectations he had nouriſhed.

But on land Lewis ſtill maintained A. D. 1692. his ſuperiority; Namur, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the Netherlands, was reduced even in the ſight of William; and though the activity and vigilance of that monarch ſurpriſed the French camp at Steenkirk, yet the battle was reſtored by the abilities of Luxemburgh, and the kindred valour of the princes of the blood; and the king of England, after the moſt daring efforts, was indignantly compelled to give the ſignal of retreat. The next year he ſtill experienced a more deciſive defeat; at Landen the army of the confederates was broken with the loſs of eight thouſand men; Huy and Charleroy were the prey of the victors; while Lewis repaired by his induſtry his late diſaſters at ſea, and once more diſputed the ſovereignty of that element.

Huy was recovered in the enſuing A. D. 1694. campaign by William; and Luxem- 1695. burgh, who had ſo often triumphed over that monarch, ſoon after found from diſeaſe that death which he had in vain courted in fields of battle; the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Catinat, penetrated into Dauphinè, and retaliated the

miſeries of the Palatinate. While France appeared the object of envy to neighbouring ſtates, her diſtreſs each day increaſed with the number of her victories; her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleets and armies; the ravages of war were attended by thoſe of famine; and amidſt his glories the monarch was heard frequently to ſigh for peace. The king of England, animated by the death of Luxemburgh, had inveſted Namur; and though that city was obſtinately defended by the mareſchal Boufflers, it was obliged to capitulate in the ſight of the French army commanded by Villeroi, who could only gratify his reſentment by the unprofitable bombardment of Bruſſels.

A. D. 1696. To diminiſh the numbers of his enemies, the king of France opened a negociation with the duke of Savoy; and Amadeus was eaſily induced to prefer his intereſt to the faith he had pledged to his allies. He received again his dominions with four millions of livres to repair the damages they had ſuſtained; Lewis at the ſame time engaged to him his conſtant protection, and promiſed his ſecond ſon, the duke of Burgundy, to the princeſs of Savoy. Though this treaty ſecured France on the ſide of Italy, yet her coaſts were continually alarmed and afflicted by the deſcents of the Engliſh, and Lewis beheld

beheld with concern that people again reſume their naval ſuperiority.

In Flanders the mareſchal Catinat reduced Athe; in Spain the duke of Vendome, grandſon to Henry the Fourth, gained a glorious victory; he inveſted Barcelona, and the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who defended that city with a garriſon of ten thouſand men, was, after a gallant reſiſtance, compelled to capitulate; in America, Pointis, with a French ſquadron, ſurpriſed Carthagena; and the loſs ſuſtained by Spain in the plunder of that place was eſtimated at thirty millions of livres; on the other hand Lewis in vain attempted to fix the crown of Poland on the head of the prince of Conti, who was conſtrained to abandon the field to his ſucceſsful competitor Auguſtus Elector of Saxony. A. D. 1697.

Each party at length ſincerely inclined to peace; the empire and Spain were weary of a war which had been attended only with misfortunes; the parliament of England had long murmured at the heavy and increaſing expence; and Holland, though more devoted to the inclinations of William, regretted her trade intercepted, and her moſt fruitful provinces laid waſte. Lewis himſelf could not be entirely indifferent to the tears and miſeries of his ſubjects; the rigour of

the ſeaſon had combined with the rage of the enemy, and the kingdom, lately ſo fertile, preſented to the eye a dreary and barren proſpect. Under theſe circumſtances, the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, was accepted; and the caſtle of Ryſwick, near the Hague, was fixed upon as the ſcene of negociation.

The king of France reſtored to the Spaniards all thoſe places that he had taken from them, and the conqueſts that he had made in Flanders during the laſt war, as Luxemburgh, Mons, Athe, and Courtrai. He acknowledged William the Third as lawful king of England, whom he had hitherto treated as an uſurper. To the empire he relinquiſhed Fribourg, Briſac, Kheil, and Philipſbourg; and even ſubmitted to deſtroy the fortifications of Straſburg on the Rhine; Fort Lewis, and Traerbach, works on which the great Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the king his treaſure, Lorrain, Treves, and the Palatinate, were reſigned to their reſpective princes; and France, after a long and bloody war, in which her victories can only be numbered by her campaigns, conſented to a peace, which could ſcarce have been expected from her, if humbled by repeated defeats.

The miniſters who had ſigned the treaty, on their

their return to the capital were purſued with reproach and ridicule; they were execrated as traitors to their country by the unthinking multitude, who had lately clamoured againſt the proſecution of the war; the policy and judgment of Lewis were generally arraigned; but that monarch, in the late negociation, harboured a deſign beyond the views of the vulgar; the health of Charles the Second of Spain daily declined; and the king of France revolved in ſecret his pretenſions to that ſucceſſion, which by the treaty of the Pyrenees he had ſolemnly renounced.

Chapter the Thirty-ſixth.

DEATH OF CHARLES THE SECOND KING OF SPAIN—WAR FOR THE SUCCESSION—BATTLES OF HOCHSTET, OR BLENHEIM—OF RAMILLIES AND TURIN—DISTRESS OF FRANCE—LEWIS IN VAIN SUES FOR PEACE—BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET—VICTORIES OF THE DUKE OF VENDOME IN SPAIN—PEACE OF UTRECHT BETWEEN FRANCE, AND THE CONFEDERATE POWERS OF GREAT BRITAIN, HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, PORTUGAL, AND SAVOY—PHILIP ACKNOWLEDGED KING OF SPAIN—SUCCESS OF VILLARS IN GERMANY—PEACE WITH THE EMPEROR—DOMESTIC MISFORTUNES OF LEWIS—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

THE dawning luſtre of Lewis had been obſcured by the power and aſcendancy of his imperious miniſter; on the death of Mazarin, he emerged from that abject ſtate of vaſſalage, and awed

awed and aſtoniſhed Europe by the blaze of his meridian glory; but a dark cloud hung over his ſetting ſun; and he ſurvived to behold, in the evening of life, the deſertion of his allies and the triumph of his enemies; his cities raſed, his people ſlaughtered, and his children prematurely buried in the grave.

The peace of Ryſwick was ſucceeded by new negociations; the A. D. 1698. pretenſions of the king of France to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion was not veiled from the penetrating eye of William the Third; Lewis, ſenſible that the emperor urged the ſame claims of conſanguinity, though priority of birth fortified the title of the houſe of Bourbon, and conſcious from late experience that his own ſtrength was not able to contend with the united power of Europe, opened by his miniſter a new project to the king of England. William entered into it with alacrity; and the celebrated treaty of partition was concluded, which divided the dominions of Spain during the life of her ſovereign. To the young prince of Bavaria were aſſigned Spain and the Eaſt-Indies; to the dauphin, ſon of Lewis the Fourteenth, Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuſcoa; and to the archduke Charles, the ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold, only the duchy of Milan.

A. D. 1699. 1700. Even the feeble and languid ſoul of Charles was arouſed by this daring inſult; he heard with indignation in what manner his monarchy had been diſtributed; and to preſerve it entire he ſigned his will, and bequeathed the whole of his ample dominions to the prince of Bavaria; the ſudden death of that prince not only diſconcerted the deſigns of Charles, but even thoſe of Lewis and William; the two latter monarchs ſigned, however, a new treaty of partition, by which Spain and the Eaſt Indies were transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan to the duke of Lorrain. To this treaty the emperor Leopold, who flattered himſelf with the hope of the whole ſucceſſion, refuſed to accede.

A. D. 1700. But it was only the dread of alarming the united fears of Europe, which had prevailed on Lewis to ſubſcribe conditions ſo inadequate to his inſatiate ambition; he ſtill waited in anxious ſuſpence the death of Charles, and the bed of that expiring monarch was beſieged by the intrigues and factions of the rival houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; but the intractable haughtineſs of the former had diſguſted the miniſters of Spain; and they prevailed on their monarch to ſign a new will, which blaſted the hopes of Leopold, and preſerved the Spaniſh monarchy entire; expreſſing his indignation at the

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late injurious conduct of Lewis, Charles bequeathed his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou, grandſon to the king of France, and ſoon afterwards expired.

The treaty of partition augmented the power and dominions of France; the will of Charles aggrandiſed the houſe of Bourbon; Lewis preferred the elevation of his family to the intereſts of the ſtate, and accepted for his grandſon the royal fortune that was bequeathed him; at the ſame time he endeavoured to juſtify to his allies the infraction of the partition treaty, by obſerving that he had only departed from the words, and ſtill adhered to the ſpirit of it, which was to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe.

But none felt their diſappointment more deeply than the emperor Leopold, and William king of England. The former beheld Spain, and her dependencies, for ever ſeparated from the houſe of Auſtria; yet his weakneſs confined him to ineffectual remonſtrances; the latter, though ſecure of the affection of the united provinces, was regarded with jealouſy by the Engliſh parliament; and he found that people averſe to increaſe their debt, and ſacrifice their trade, to gratify his enmity to Lewis by a new war, in which they conſidered themſelves but little intereſted.

Philip the Fifth was formally acknowledged by the

the king of England and the ſtates of Holland; he was ſupported by the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy; and from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, Lewis beheld the power and influence of the houſe of Bourbon extended; he was elated with the boundleſs proſpect before him, and his preſumption precipitated him into two errors, the ſource of all his future calamities.

A. D. 1701. While Leopold ſtill heſitated whether to acknowledge or oppoſe the elevation of Philip the Fifth, he was aroused by a new proof of the inſatiate diſpoſition of Lewis. That monarch prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a garriſon into his capital, and all Italy trembled for her liberties; the emperor immediately prepared to aſſert the freedom of Europe by the ſword; his army was entruſted to the command of prince Eugene, ſon to the count of Soiſſons. This general, who afterwards became ſo dangerous an adverſary to Lewis the Fourteenth, had aſpired to military honours in his native country; but his requeſt of a regiment had been rejected by the king, and the indignant prince for ever renounced the ſervice of France, and ſought glory under the imperial ſtandard; his reſentment was the ſubject of deriſion at Paris; but he ſoon diſtinguiſhed his martial genius in

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ſucceſſive victories againſt the Turks, and was now ſummoned to avenge the wrongs of Italy and his own inſults. He entered that country with thirty thouſand men, and full powers to act according to his own diſcretion; he forced the poſt of Carpi; reduced mareſchal Catinat to act upon the defenſive; and overwhelmed the country between the Adige and the Adda; Villeroi, the favourite of Lewis, was ſent to aſſume the command over Catinat, and diſguſted by his arrogance the duke of Savoy; he compelled his reluctant colleagues to attack prince Eugene; in the ſtrong poſt of Chiari, on the banks of the Oglio, his temerity was chaſtiſed by a ſevere and bloody defeat; and five thouſand of the braveſt troops of France periſhed on that diſaſtrous day.

While the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, cloſed at St. Germain's his unfortunate and inglorious life. The tears and importunities of madame de Maintenon prevailed over the counſels of his moſt experienced miniſters, and Lewis, though he had acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryſwick, now proclaimed the ſon of the deceaſed prince as James the Third. The enmity of William was ſtimulated by this wanton inſult; England, that had hitherto regarded war with averſion, partook in the indignation of her ſove-

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reign, and prepared to vindicate by arms her own choice. The diſcernment of William improved the honourable enthuſiaſm; he concerted the triple alliance between the empire, the united provinces, and England, and haſtened, by his preſence and diligence, their formidable preparations.

A. D. 1702. But theſe inceſſant efforts exhauſted a frame naturally weak and delicate; a fall from his horſe quickened the progreſs of diſeaſe, and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age he yielded up his throne and life. The former was immediately filled by Anne, the daughter of the unfortunate James, and who had married the prince of Denmark; and the new queen diſpatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to aſſure her allies that ſhe would adopt and ſupport the engagements of her predeceſſor.

That nobleman was ſoon after appointed to the command of the allied army, and diſplayed that military ſkill which he acquired under the mareſchal Turenne; Boufflers, to whom Lewis had entruſted his grandſon the duke of Burgundy to train to war, was confounded by the rapid and complicated movements of his adverarſary. He evacuated Guelderland, retired under the walls of Liege, and finally ſought ſhelter in Brabant; while

while Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, were ſucceſſively reduced by Marlborough.

In Italy prince Eugene, by a daring and well-concerted march, had ſurpriſed Cremona, and taken mareſchal Villeroi priſoner; after an obſtinate conflict he was expelled again the town; ſuffered ſome loſs at Santa Vittoria; and in the battle of Luzara was encountered by the duke of Vendoſme; that prince, in whom martial activity and indolence were wonderfully blended, was diſtinguiſhed by talents worthy the grandſon of Henry the Fourth; and though in the battle of Luzara the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, yet Vendoſme claimed the advantage, and maintained it by the reduction of Luzara and Guaſtalla.

On the banks of the Rhine a more deciſive victory was obtained over prince Lewis of Baden by the mareſchal Villars; and ſoon after in the plains of Hochſtet, in concert with the elector of Bavaria, he charged and routed the imperial general count Styrum; three thouſand of the imperialiſts were left dead on the field, four thouſand were taken priſoners with their cannon and baggage; while mareſchal Tallard, near Spires, engaged and defeated the prince of Heſſe.

In the midſt of this ſucceſs France was alarmed by the deſertion of the duke of Savoy, who obtained

tained from the emperor the promiſe of Montferrat, Mantua, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro. At the ſame time the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon were increaſed by the declaration of Peter the Second of Portugal, who acknowledged the archduke Charles as ſovereign of Spain.

A. D. 1703. 1704. The duke of Marlborough, with increaſe of dignity and the applauſe of his country, had returned to Flanders, poſſeſſed himſelf of Bonn, the reſidence of the elector of Cologn, retaken Huy and Limbourg, and made himſelf maſter of the Lower Rhine; mareſchal Villeroi, redeemed from captivity, in vain endeavoured to check his progreſs, and was ſoon after deceived by his maſterly addreſs. To ſuccour the emperor, oppreſſed by the joint forces of France and the elector of Bavaria, Marlborough rapidly marched into the heart of Germany, and traverſing the Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, was met at Mindelſheim by prince Eugene, who had quitted Italy, to aſſume the command of the imperialiſts on the banks of the Danube.

Villars had been recalled to wage an inglorious war in the mountains of the Cevennes againſt the unhappy proteſtants, whom the perſecution of Lewis had forced into revolt, and the glory of France was entruſted to mareſchal Tallard;

the lines of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, had been forced by Marlborough with conſiderable loſs; but the appearance of Tallard inſpired that prince with freſh confidence; it was determined to riſk the fate of the war on a deciſive battle, and the French and Bavarians with ſuperior numbers advanced to attack the confederates, who affected a junction with the prince of Baden; but the plains of Hochſtet, which had ſo lately witneſſed the triumph of Villars, were rendered memorable by the defeat of Tallard. That general was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior ſkill of his adverſary; he himſelf was taken priſoner, with fourteen thouſand of the braveſt troops of France; twelve thouſand periſhed by the ſword, or were precipitated into the rapid ſtream of the Danube; and of an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſcarce twenty thouſand could be collected from its broken remains.

The battle of Hochſtet, better known in England by the name of Blenheim, expoſed to the ravages of the victors the electorate of Bavaria; and Lewis once more ſummoned the mareſchal Villars to the ſcene of his former glory; an accommodation had reſtored the inhabitants of the Cevennes to their allegiance; and the conduct of Villars proved him an adverſary worthy of Marlborough. He occu- A. D. 1704. 1705.

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pied a ſtrong camp, remained on the defenſive, and by his prudent meaſures compelled the duke to relinquiſh his deſign of penetrating into France by the courſe of the Moſelle.

The ſtates, anxious for their frontier, ſoon prevailed on the duke of Marlborough to return to Flanders; and Villeroi, who had taken Huy, and was preparing to beſiege Liege, abandoned the enterpriſe on the intelligence of his approach. Huy was again compelled to ſurrender to the confederates; and the lines of Villeroi were immediately after forced. That general croſſed the Geete and Dyle with precipitation; but the ſtrong ground he judiciouſly occupied prevented the allies from improving their advantage, and he ſhortly after reſtored his reputation by the reduction of Dieſt.

The numerous armies of the empire on the banks of the Rhine were baffled by the ſkill of Villars; and in Italy the duke of Vendoſme inceſſantly preſſed prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, fought the bloody but indeciſive battle of Caſſano, gained that of Caſſinato, and even menaced Turin with the horrors of a ſiege. But in Spain the allies, who had proclaimed the archduke Charles, king, obtained the moſt rapid and ſplendid advantages; the earl of Peterborough poſſeſſed himſelf of Barcelona; all Catalonia ranged

ranged itſelf under the banners of the houſe of Auſtria, while Gibraltar, which the year before had been wreſted by the Engliſh from Philip, ſecure in her native ſtrength, defeated the vain and feeble efforts of the mareſchal de Teſſe.

Lewis had reaped ſome ſatisfaction from the gallantry of his natural ſon, the count of Toulouſe, who with the French fleet engaged, with honour and without loſs, that of England. But this was the laſt effort of marine greatneſs; the numerous enterpriſes of the king had exhauſted his treaſures, and his navy was gradually ſuffered to ſink into that ſtate of inſignificance from whence he had raiſed it. Even the death of the emperor abated not the ardour of the confederates, and his ſon Joſeph ſucceeded to his throne and deſigns.

The campaign in Flanders opened with events the moſt diſaſtrous. The command there was ſtill entruſted to the mareſchal Villeroi, and that general, impatient of glory, yet unendowed with talents to acquire it, rejected the advice of his officers, and determined to hazard a deciſive engagement againſt the allies. Near the village of Ramillies, France was vanquiſhed by the injudicious diſpoſition of her own, and the conſummate ſkill of the Engliſh commander. In the action and purſuit twenty thou- A. D. 1706.

ſand men were ſlaughtered or taken priſoners; Antwerp, Bruſſels, Oſtend, Menin, and the greateſt part of Spaniſh Flanders were the prey of the victor; the court of Lewis was filled with conſternation; but the monarch himſelf ſtill preſerved his magnanimity; inſtead of reproaching, he endeavoured to conſole the unfortunate Villeroi; and to his expreſſions of concern, replied, "People at "our time of life, monſieur Mareſchal, are not "fortunate."

The flattering proſpect in Italy ſtill promiſed to repair the diſaſters of Flanders; Turin there was inveſted by mareſchal Feuillade; and the ſiege was covered by the duke of Orleans, the nephew of Lewis, but whoſe authority was controlled by the ſuperior but ſecret powers of mareſchal Marſin. The city was already reduced to the laſt diſtreſs, when the beſiegers were alarmed by the rapid approach of prince Eugene. In a long and painful march that celebrated commander had pierced the moſt difficult defiles, had traverſed the rapid ſtreams of the Adige and the Po, and effecting a junction with the duke of Savoy, now preſſed forwards to the relief of the deſponding capital. The duke of Orleans would have quitted his lines to have met and encountered the enemy; this bold but prudent propoſal

poſal was over-ruled by mareſchal Marſin; the French awaited the attack in their entrenchments, but their confidence was extinguiſhed by the diſſentions of their generals; prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy charged with rival ardour, and in leſs than two hours their efforts obtained a complete victory. The duke of Orleans was wounded; mareſchal Marſin killed; the ſcattered remnant of the vanquiſhed troops directed their haſty and trembling ſteps towards Pignerol; and by the fate of one day the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont, with the kingdom of Naples, were torn from the houſe of Bourbon.

An advantage obtained by the French in Mantua over the prince of Heſſe, could but ill compenſate the diſaſtrous battle of Turin. The courtiers of Lewis ſtood aghaſt at the intelligence, and madame de Maintenon alone ventured to inform him that all Italy was occupied by his enemies. His grandſon Philip had been compelled to abandon precipitately the ſiege of Barcelona; Charles had entered in triumph, and been proclaimed in Madrid. But that prince ſuffered the moment of enterpriſe to elapſe, and was in his turn reduced to evacuate the capital, and fly before the arms of the duke of Berwick, natural ſon to James the Second of England.

A. D. 1707. Lewis, humbled by repeated defeats, ſued in vain for peace; the allies elated by their victories, determined to purſue their advantages, and rejected his propoſals. Yet the war in Flanders was continued this campaign with little effect; the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French, remained upon the defenſive; and the duke of Marlborough was diſpatched into Saxony to penetrate into the intentions, and conciliate the friendſhip of Charles the Twelfth king of Sweden. That monarch, young and warlike, and ambitious of the fame of a conqueror, had already ſpread his renown through the north. He had preſcribed laws to Denmark; he had defeated the Muſcovites, a people ſcarce known in Europe, and juſt emerging from barbariſm; and had purſued with implacable enmity, Auguſtus king of Poland into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. The confederates trembled leſt he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt the empire; but Marlborough was equally ſucceſsful in the cabinet as the field; he gained the miniſters of Charles; and that monarch ſoon after repaſſed the Oder, and directed his march towards Muſcovy in ſearch of barren laurels.

In Spain the duke of Berwick triumphed at Almanza over the forces of the confederates, and

reſtored

reſtored the ſinking fortunes of Philip. In Germany mareſchal Villars paſſed the Rhine, preſſed the Imperialiſts, and even penetrated to the Danube. Yet he was prevented from improving his advantage by the recall of conſiderable part of his army to the defence of France itſelf, which was now attacked within its limits. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had forced the paſſage of the river Var, advanced along the coaſt of Provence, and incamped under the walls of Toulon. But the tardy motions of the Germans, who were to have joined them, and the activity of France, compelled them to abandon the enterpriſe; and they retired, after having bombarded the town, and convinced Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

The tranſient ſucceſs of the laſt campaign revived the ſpirits of the king of France; he determined to make one more exertion in favour of the exiled branch of Stuart. Seventy tranſports, with ſix thouſand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, ſailed from Dunkirk; but the coaſts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleet; the vigilance of her officers were already alarmed; the adherents of James were ſecured and diſarmed; and the French, after a fruitleſs attempt to land in A.D. 1708.

Scotland, eſteemed themſelves happy in ſafely regaining Dunkirk.

Flanders at firſt promiſed a fairer harveſt, and the forces of France, commanded by Vendome, were animated by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt ſon of the dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Lewis, opened their gates. But the hopes of the French were blaſted by the approach of Marlborough; on the banks of the Scheld they were attacked by that general, who had affected a junction with prince Eugene; the battle of Oudenarde was long, obſtinate, and bloody; night parted the combatants; the French were rather preſſed than vanquiſhed; but the troops of Lewis, from ſucceſſive defeats, had loſt all confidence, and they diſperſed under cover of the darkneſs; Liſle, defended by mareſchal Boufflers in perſon, and fortified by the conſummate ſkill of Vauban, was reduced by the confederates; Ghent and Bruges were recovered; and the elector of Bavaria was compelled to retire from the walls of Bruſſels.

A. D. 1708. In Spain, Germany, and Italy a feeble and languid war was carried on; in the former indeed the honourable attachment of the Caſtilians to Philip became every day more evident; but in the latter the duke of Savoy

1709.

voy eluded the vigilance of Villars, and rendered himſelf maſter of Exilles, and Feneſtrelles; the Britiſh fleet reduced the iſlands of Sardinia and Minorca; and the difficulties of Lewis increaſed on every ſide. The taking of Liſle had opened a road to the very gates of Paris; that proud city was inſulted and alarmed by the predatory incurſions of the enemy; and a prince who had carried his arms a few years before to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital with ſafety. The deſpair of the nation was completed by the ſeverity of the winter; the olive trees throughout the ſouth of France were deſtroyed, the grain was cut off, and the proſpect of impending famine threw a deeper gloom over the calamities of war. Accuſtomed to proſperity, Lewis reluctantly bowed beneath his adverſe fortune, and inſtructed his miniſter Torcy to open at the Hague a negociation for peace.

But though the king of France agreed to yield the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; to cede Furnes, Ypres, Tournay, Liſle, &c. as a barrier to Holland; to own the title of queen Anne to the Britiſh throne; and to remove the pretender from France; yet theſe conceſſions appeared inſufficient; and the allies demanded that the king ſhould A. D. 1709.

assist in driving his grandson from the throne of Spain; Lewis rejected the ignominious condition with indignation, and added, "since I must make "war, I had rather it was against my enemies "than my children."

The internal misery of France served to swell her forces, and the wretched husbandman sought in the profession of arms, that subsistence which he could no longer extort from the earth. Mareschal Villars was recalled from Italy to assume the command of an army formidable from its numbers and despair. In the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he diligently fortified a camp naturally strong; Marlborough and Eugene, animated by the capture of Tournay, rushed to the attack. The battle was disputed with an obstinacy scarce to be equalled even in these sanguinary annals; the allies were frequently repulsed, and as frequently returned to the charge; Villars himself was wounded, and Boufflers, who succeeded to the command, at length withdrew his troops from the unavailing conflict. Yet his retreat partook in nothing of flight; it was neither confused nor precipitate; eight thousand of the French were indeed left dead on the ground; but the confederates purchased the honour of the field of battle at the expence of twenty thousand men.

Mons soon after surrendered to the allies, and closed

cloſed the campaign in Flanders. The efforts of the contending powers in Spain, Germany, and Italy were ſtill feeble and inadequate; but in the north the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to penerate into the heart of Ruſſia, was at Pultowa defeated by the ſovereign of that country, afterwards ſo celebrated as Peter the Great; the Swediſh army was entirely deſtroyed; and Charles, who had aſpired to rival the fame of Alexander, wounded and accompanied only by a few faithful guards, croſſed the Boryſthenes in a ſmall boat, and ſought ſhelter in the Ottoman dominions.

The negociations of peace had been reſumed with as little ſucceſs as in the enſuing year. The allies took the field, and mareſchal Villars ſtudiouſly avoided a deciſive engagement. Douay, Bethune, Saint Venant, and Aire were ſucceſſively reduced by the confederates; but theſe towns were long and obſtinately defended; and the beſiegers loſt by the ſword, by diſeaſe, and fatigue, above twenty-ſix thouſand men; diſabled by ſucceſs, and ſatisfied with their new acquiſitions, they withdrew into winter quarters. A. D. 1710.

Germany and Italy preſented nothing worthy of attention; but in Spain the campaign that opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to the houſe

houſe of Bourbon, was cloſed with the moſt ſplendid and deciſive ſucceſs. In the battle of Almenaſa, the rival monarchs encountered each other with mutual rage, but Philip was compelled to yield to the ſuperior fortune of Charles. In the battle of Saragoſſa he ſuffered a ſecond and more bloody defeat; Madrid was again occupied by the confederates; and the ſituation of Philip appeared deſperate to his moſt ſanguine adherents. But he was raiſed from deſpondence by the courage and conduct of the duke of Vendome. His affability, frankneſs, and generoſity conciliated the eſteem of every claſs of men; he again kindled the enthuſiaſm of the Caſtilians, aſſembled the troops ſcattered by the defeat of Saragoſſa, allured to his ſtandard the moſt gallant ſpirits of Spain, conducted the king in triumph to his capital, and purſued with vigour the aſtoniſhed and diſmayed enemy. At Brehuega general Stanhope, with five thouſand Engliſh, ſurrendered after a brave reſiſtance; at Villa Vicioſa Staremberg was defeated with the loſs of near ſix thouſand men; and though his retreat challenged the admiration of his adverſary, yet the progreſs of Vendome was rapid and uninterrupted; and Portugal in her turn was taught by the victors to experience the calamities of war.

The

The ſucceſs of Phillip in Spain could not alleviate the diſtreſs of A. D. 1711. France, though it might moderate the preſumption of her enemies; that kingdom, totally exhauſted by her inceſſant efforts, preſented a ſcene of dreary deſolation; but the peace, which ſhe had in vain implored by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, was now facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Amidſt a glorious and ſucceſsful war, the queen of England was prevailed on to diſmiſs thoſe miniſters who had conducted it, and admit to her councils a new deſcription of men who had ſyſtematically laboured to oppoſe it. About the ſame time, in the vigour of his age, the emperor Joſeph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for Spain, was raiſed to the Imperial throne. The confederates had been arouzed to action by the dread of uniting in one hand the ſceptres of France and Spain; and they could not but regard with ſimilar jealouſy, the latter kingdom added to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power that he derived from the Imperial crown.

Though the female paſſions of his ſovereign had exiled his friends from her confidence, yet the reputation of Marlborough preſerved him from being involved in their immediate diſgrace; he

he again reſumed the command in Flanders; and mareſchal Villars, who was alſo again oppoſed to him, well acquainted with the ardent deſire of Lewis for peace, and conſcious that he conducted the laſt army the ſtate could furniſh, dexterouſly eluded every effort of the confederates to force him to a deciſive engagement. He had encamped behind the river Sanſet, and had fortified his lines with ſuch ſkill and diligence, as obtained for them the character of impenetrable. But he was deceived by the maſterly addreſs of Marlborough; he was compelled to abandon the works on which ſo much coſt and labour had been laviſhed, and had the mortification of beholding the allies inveſt and reduce the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Bouchain.

A. D. 1712. This laſt enterpriſe of Marlborough cloſed the long and ſplendid ſeries of his martial exploits; he was recalled to England; and ſoon after diſguſted at the aſcendancy of a party whoſe implacable enmity he was no ſtranger to, reſigned his command. His place was ſupplied by the duke of Ormond, equal to him alone in perſonal courage, and whoſe attachment to the new miniſtry was his principal recommendation. But while each power prepared with vigour for a ſecond campaign, negociations for peace were ſecretly carried on between the courts

of

of Paris and London. Lewis entruſted this important and delicate concern to the knowledge and addreſs of Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen; certain preliminaries were by his diligence and prudence adjuſted, but before they could be reduced to form, the operations of war had been reſumed in Flanders.

Mareſchal Villars ſtill remained upon the defenſive, and ſuſtained the cautious part that he had acted in the preceding campaign; but prince Eugene inſulted and burnt the ſuburbs of Arras; and was no ſooner joined by the duke of Ormond, than he advanced towards the French, and propoſed to the duke to give battle; but the Engliſh general had received inſtructions not to hazard an engagement, and the prince, diſappointed in this favourite object, inveſted Queſnoi. Before that town ſurrendered, a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed between France and Great Britain; the duke of Ormond, with the Britiſh troops, withdrew from the confederates, and directed his march towards Dunkirk, which was delivered by Lewis to the Engliſh as a pledge of his intentions to fulfil the preliminaries of peace which his envoy had ſigned. A. D. 1712.

Though deſerted by ſo important an ally, the army of prince Eugene was ſtill formidable. Mareſchal Villiars beheld with indignation Queſ-

noi

noi taken in his ſight; and the confederates ſoon after inveſted Landreci. But prince Eugene is accuſed of errors on this occaſion which did not eſcape the vigilance of his veteran antagoniſt. His lines were too much extended; his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a diſtance, and the earl of Albemarle, who was poſted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not near enough to ſupport him in caſe of an attack. Mareſchal Villars ordered his cavalry to advance within ſight of the camp of the prince, and while that quarter of the confederates prepared for action, he rapidly preſſed forwards with his infantry towards Denain; pierced the intrenchments of Albemarle, cut in pieces thoſe who reſiſted, forced the ſurvivors to ſeek their ſafety in flight, took that general himſelf priſoner, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed a body of fourteen thouſand men. Prince Eugene had marched in haſte to their ſupport, but before he could arrive the action was over. In endeavouring to wreſt from the French a bridge over the Scheld which they had occupied, he augmented his loſs; and was at laſt obliged to withdraw to his camp, after having witneſſed the defeat of his beſt troops.

All the poſts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were ſwept away by the victors, and Marchiennes itſelf was ſoon after inveſted by Villars;

lars; though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſuch was the ardour of the aſſailants, that it was compelled to ſurrender in three days; all the ammunition and proviſions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the French; the confederates retired from the walls of Landreci; while Villars reduced Douay and Queſnoi, poſſeſſed himſelf in the latter of the military ſtores of the allies, and terminated the campaign by the reduction of the important town of Bouchain.

The preliminaries which had been ſigned between the courts of Paris and London were ſucceeded by open conferences for peace at Utrecht; theſe were quickened by the brilliant and rapid ſucceſs of Villars; the emperor and ſome of the independent princes of Germany ſtill maintained an haughty and ſullen reſerve, and refuſed to ſheath the ſword. But Great Britain, Holland, Pruſſia, Portugal, and Savoy, acquieſced in the terms propoſed, and ſigned ſeparate treaties of peace. A.D. 1713.

By theſe Philip the Fifth was acknowledged king of Spain, but at the ſame time he ſolemnly renounced all pretenſions to the crown of France; Lewis, for the other branches of the houſe of Bourbon, diſavowed all right to the future ſucceſſion of any part of the Spaniſh territories, and

every precaution was taken to ſeparate for ever thoſe kindred thrones. The king of France conſented to guarantee the crown of Britain to the proteſtant line of the houſe of Hanover, to demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and to yield acroſs the Atlantic, Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and Acadia; he promiſed to ſequeſter into the hands of Holland, for the houſe of Auſtria, all that France, or her allies, poſſeſſed in the Spaniſh Netherlands, at the concluſion of the treaty of Ryſwick; he conſented to allow the title of king of Pruſſia to the elector of Brandenburgh, and to cede to him the town of Guelders, with part of the Spaniſh Guelderland; with Portugal, all places that had been taken on either ſide were mutually reſtored; to the duke of Savoy was given the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king; he was alſo ſecured in the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, in caſe of failure in the king of Spain and his poſterity; and in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, he obtained the reſtitution of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all the country along the Alps towards Piedmont.

By ſuch conceſſions Lewis diſarmed the rage of his moſt formidable enemies, and reſcued his kingdom from the deſtruction that impended over it; amidſt misfortune and defeat, he eſtabliſhed his

his grandſon on the throne of Spain, whoſe pretenſions had firſt excited the hoſtile confederacy of Europe; and he was now left to turn his whole force againſt the emperor, who, deſerted and alone, ſtill nouriſhed the flames of war. From the Scheld mareſchal Villars rapidly directed his ſteps towards the Rhine; he made himſelf maſter of Spires and Worms, took Landau, pierced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Briſgau, defeated Vauban, and, laſtly, inveſted and reduced Friburg, the capital of Upper Auſtria.

His approach awakened Charles the Sixth from the deluſive idea that he had entertained of his own ſtrength, and he now panted for that repoſe which he ſo lately indignantly rejected. At Radſtadt mareſchal Villars and the prince Eugene, who had been ſo often oppoſed to each other in the field, were now oppoſed in the cabinet. Both diſplayed that frankneſs of character for which they were diſtinguiſhed; and deſpiſing the intrigues of courts, they ſoon adjuſted the different pretenſions of their ſovereigns. Lewis yielded to the emperor the fort of Keil, the city of Friburg, and old Briſac, with its dependencies; but he retained Straſbourg and Landau, the ſovereignty of Alſace, and procured his allies, the

electors of Cologn and Bavaria, to be reinſtated in their ranks and dominions.

A. D. 1686. The domeſtic miſery of Lewis had
1710. kept pace with the public calamities; that court, the ſplendour and magnificent entertainments of which had excited the envy and admiration of Europe, had long been impreſſed with a deep and ſettled gloom. The paſſion of the king for madame de Maintenon, and the addreſs of that lady, who ſtill kept alive his hopes, without gratifying his deſires, had induced him to conſent to a private marriage; the art of ſurgery in Europe was yet feeble and crude; a fiſtula, with which the king was attacked, ſpread a general alarm; and though the operation was ſucceſsfully performed, yet he ever after led a more ſerious and retired life, and chiefly devoted his hours to the converſation of madame de Maintenon, whoſe influence increaſed with his years.

A. D. 1711. But it was while his mind was yet
1712. oppreſſed by a long and bloody war, invariably unfortunate, that he was doomed to experience the ſevereſt pangs of domeſtic affliction. The death of the king's only ſon, which happened this year; the duke of Burgundy, the ducheſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon, all ſwept away within a few months, and laid in the ſame tomb; the only ſurviving child at the point of death;

death; theſe private woes added to thoſe of the public, mark the cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth as an æra of calamity; and a wretched people awaited in ſilence to behold the former greatneſs and glory of their monarch extinguiſhed by the dark cloud of miſery which obſcured his ſetting ſun.

From theſe gloomy apprehenſions they were relieved by the ſound of peace; but one mortification ſtill remained to embitter the laſt hours of the king of France. He had enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and formed an harbour there, which was thought already equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from England, remonſtrated againſt this evaſion of the treaty of Utrecht in the ſtrongeſt terms, and Lewis reluctantly conſented to diſcontinue the works. A. D. 1714.

The Catalans ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the authority of Philip of Spain; bold and hardy, they flattered themſelves with the hopes of erecting a republic in that fruitful country; and Lewis, who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to ſupport his grandſon, now fitted out an armament for his aſſiſtance. A ſquadron of French ſhips blocked up the harbour, and mareſchal Berwick, with a conſiderable army, inveſted Barcelona by land. The inhabitants defended themſelves

ſelves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticiſm; the prieſts and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches as if it had been a religious war; but the queen of England, faithful to the treaty ſhe had concluded, refuſed their ſupplications for aſſiſtance; the aſſailants at length penetrated into the town; and the beſieged, after having defended ſtreet after ſtreet, were overpowered by the number of their enemies; the clemency of Philip granted to them their lives and eſtates; but their important privileges were for ever aboliſhed; and the ſpirit of that daring people, who, as Tacitus happily expreſſes himſelf, "only ſeemed to "live when engaged in war," was finally broken.

A. D. 1715. Queen Anne had expired in England, and the life of Lewis now alſo drew near its end. At the age of ſeventy-ſeven, that vanity and ambition which had agitated the years of manhood, were nearly extinguiſhed. He coldly liſtened to the ſolicitations of the unfortunate James, who aſpired to aſcend the throne of his ſiſter, already filled by the elector of Hanover. To the importunities of that prince he granted a ſmall ſupply of money, and a veſſel fitted out in the name of an individual; but while that enterpriſe hung in ſuſpenſe, Lewis himſelf was ſeized with a diſeaſe that brought him to the grave.

In

In his laſt hours he diſplayed a greatneſs of mind worthy of his elevated ſituation. "Why "do you weep," ſaid he to his domeſtics, "did "you think me immortal?" The fortitude with which he beheld his end, was diveſted of that glare of oſtentation which had tinſelled the reſt of his life; he had the courage even to acknowledge his errors; and his advice to his infant ſucceſſor was to avoid that glory which he himſelf had ſought by war, and to conſider the happineſs of his people as the principal object of his government. To madame de Maintenon he left no fixed ſtipend, and contented himſelf with recommending her to the care of the duke of Orleans; ſhe immediately retired to St. Cyr, which had been founded at her perſuaſion for the education of young ladies of quality, and demanded only a penſion of eighty thouſand livres; this was regularly paid her to her death, an event which took place in about four years afterwards.

The character of Lewis the Fourteenth, whoſe long and various reign was alternately the glory and misfortune of his ſubjects, has exerciſed the ingenuity of the moſt celebrated hiſtorians. The maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the higheſt affability and politeneſs; elegant without effeminacy, addicted to

pleaſure

pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power. But his qualities ſeemed rather thoſe that attract a momentary regard, than command a permanent eſteem! the talents, the fire of the ſtateſman and the hero were ſtill wanting; vanity rather prompted him to inſult, than ambition to enſlave his neighbours; though he frequently took the field, and reduced in perſon Franche Comtè, and ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns of the Netherlands, yet his perſonal courage has not eſcaped imputation; and in repeated campaigns he never expoſed his life or reputation to the hazard of a battle. A purer praiſe attends the care with which he foſtered the arts and ſciences; though his own acquiſitions in literature were few and limited, yet he patronized the learned with a liberal hand; and the painter, the ſculptor, and the architect were woke into life by the genial ray of his bounty.

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